

JPRS 77787

8 April 1981

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1868



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

8 April 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1868

## CONTENTS

## HUNGARY

- Hungarian Reaction to Polish Events Surveyed  
(MAGYAR FUZETEK, No 7, 1980) ..... 1
- Utilization of Computer Technology in Civil Defense Described  
(POLGARI VEDELEM, Jan 81) ..... 25

## POLAND

- Democratic Party Member Interviewed on Responsibilities of Intelligentsia  
(Wieslaw Balcerak Interview; KURIER POLSKI, 2 Feb 81) ..... 27
- Walbrzych Voivodship Civil Defense Program Described  
(Mieczyslaw Fella; PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ, Dec 80) ..... 30

## ROMANIA

- Writer Attacks RFE, Other Critics at Agricultural Meeting  
(Ion Lancranjan; LUCEAFARUL, 28 Feb 81) ..... 35
- Amended Law on Housing, Tenant-Landlord Relations Published  
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 31 Dec 80) ..... 37
- Romanian Honors Conferred on Soviet Military Men  
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 27 Dec 80) ..... 53

## YUGOSLAVIA

- Kosovo Paper Interviews Albanian Writer Kadare  
(Ismail Kadare Interview; RILINDJA, 31 Dec 80) ..... 56
- Croatian Veterans Organ Cites Abuses Regarding Benefits  
(Milan Jaksic; VJESNIK, 15 Mar 81) ..... 62

## HUNGARIAN REACTION TO POLISH EVENTS SURVEYED

Paris MAGYAR FUZETEK in Hungarian No 7, 1980 pp 89-125

[Text] The interviews which follow below were prepared in Budapest, at the initiative of Miklos Haraszti. "I am publishing the interviews," Haraszti wrote in an accompanying letter to MAGYAR FUZETEK, "so that there should be some sign that Hungary too is alive at this time." The conversations provide various opinions but they cannot be called representative--in the political or sociological sense of the word.

Pal Juhasz is an economic sociologist; he studies the structure of village society and the agricultural management system. Pal Szalai is the author of literary criticism and philosophical history works; in April 1980 he was discharged from his library position because of his protest against the Prague trial. There is no need to introduce to our readers Andras Hegedus--nor Gyorgy Bence or Janos Kis, the two Budapest editors of the second issue in our series. The reader can learn more about Dr Tibor Pakh in the introduction to his text. Those who are unnamed are, naturally, unnamed at their own request.

Pal Juhasz, Agricultural Sociologist

[Question] You are frequently among agricultural leaders. Have you heard opinions from them about the changes in Poland?

[Answer] Opinions? Rather anxious observations: Can anything come of all this? Things like this: It may be that the Poles are doing something, but it will not be allowed anyway. Or vice versa: I wonder if they haven't gotten things so mixed up that they won't be able to get out of it.

The agricultural experts feel that they know the agricultural problem best and they feel that it cannot be solved. Some of them feel that development is impossible without collectivization but most of them think that the capital necessary for development cannot be obtained, or introduced into agriculture, under the given social conditions.

Of course, they know that collectivization is not the best developmental path for agriculture. But even when they are realistic about the Poles they do not really have good will toward them. They do not feel solidarity in this; rather they seem to be envious if another succeeded in finding a better path than they had.



Simple people are simply pessimists: "They are trying something there too, but simple people just cannot make history." But probably they have more empathy for the Poles.

[Question] So the experts consider Poland hopeless. What feeds this disdain?

[Answer] There are not only presumed professional reasons for this. A role is also played by the felt political superiority of Kadarism. Actually they consider the Polish official apparatus to be stupid, that is, not understanding things.

[Question] How do they relate to the political innovations, free trade unions, censorship reform or the independent organizing of the peasants, which occurred even earlier?

[Answer] They have not even heard of the latter and they are very skeptical about the rest. "Either the new organizations will go beyond some limit, and then they will be swept away, or they will not do so, and then they will be of no significance." They consider the concessions to be maneuvers. I must add that part of this is that if they were in the government's place they would permit them only as maneuvers.

[Question] Can one conclude from all this how people would behave in a similar situation here at home?

[Answer] Not entirely. It is true that they identify with the system, even if they do have disagreement with it. It is also true that they consider dependence on the Soviet Union natural and irrevocable. And it is also true that they are on a war footing with the non-official and non-intellectual strata, for the power struggle is the same in agriculture, on the cooperative farms, as in the other areas of the economy. But they also have enough bravado and nationalism to believe that the Hungarians are different, even from the Poles. They would not openly undertake to oppose their own people in advance even if they do play against them not openly.

They behave like those who are in power with a bad conscience, not like an open ruling class. Indeed, it is as if their bad consciences had increased in the second half of the 1970's, because of their own feudal organization and conduct. As the success of the economy also diminished in agriculture, their self-confidence also decreased. At both levels: from above they became unsure of their own technocratic-command large scale methods, seeing that they were not effective enough. While the lower leaders, the young intellectuals, were forced to re-evaluate their leadership awareness, to play more enterprising games together with their workers and peasants.

[Question] Has the possibility arisen concretely, "What if it happened here"?

[Answer] No. At most, in this way: If certain reforms are not realized, if the game does not become more clever, then things might degenerate to the point where we would be in a similar situation.

[Question] So what should a smart leader avoid?

[Answer] He should avoid having the cart leave the horse, having society do something different than the leaders are doing.

In a word, they are not really thinking through the Polish events, not taking them to heart. They talk about them but they are not really curious about them. They would rather not have to think about such frustrating events.

[Question] And what do you think about the chances of Polish agriculture?

[Answer] Opening the way for small undertakings, for land rent and for special purpose associations offers a chance for growth. Reorganizing the trade sphere in the direction of more free play could greatly mitigate the present fragmentation of the Polish economy. Now there is no internal market, a depression weighs on the economy. They must discover themselves as a market. Now an internal market exists only as the market of the second economy.

My leader acquaintances frequently react to this train of thought with dogmatic arguments: We did not create the communal sphere in order to give it up. The more experienced know that a small undertaking is not capitalism; they argue instead that large operations are the true way in the present world. According to them Polish agriculture, leading a double life and breaking into small parcels, cannot create sufficient concentration in the hands of individual families.

At such times I have tried to explain that we are not talking about a final condition but rather about a necessary transition. Opening the way for accumulation and market thinking increases the chances for growth even if they cannot immediately buy two tractors or develop a storage system. Those leading a double life can rent out their land, the peasants can become entrepreneurs on these leases, expanding the base of their farms. If only a small part of the western credits were turned to permitting the peasants to buy technology the economy would get new behavior and a new market which would give a boost for a few years. And these are the years in which one cannot count on central programs, because of the indebtedness of the country.

At such times they take me into the other room so the others cannot hear, and ask me how all this fits in with Leninism. They no longer think in terms of real political economy, they are practical in only a narrow area, they methodically render themselves stupid.

What they cannot understand at all is the demand of the Poles to democratize large operations, not only in agriculture of course. They say: How can they be democratized if they are working badly already? According to them this can only lead to even worse operation. It is an article of faith for them that professionalism and democracy do not go together.

[Question] What do you expect in Poland?

[Answer] Economically I am not a pessimist, although I do not expect a real qualitative improvement in the short run. And I have faith that if people can

enrich the institutional system, can develop institutions more independent of the authorities, this will have a beneficial effect even if for the time being they give up a solution of the ultimate questions of national policy. This will improve the ability of people to think, their ability to react, their ability to manage, and give a better chance to more deliberately create their own institutions in other historical epochs.

I feel it probable that there will be an integration of the new trade unions. Not simply because the government is engaged in tactics or because the new organizations will lose their courage but rather because so many problems have piled up that no single social group can undertake to solve them without appropriate rules of the game.

[Question] Could a similar change take place in Hungary also?

[Answer] Not now. In the short term we cannot count on an enrichment of the institutional system which would follow from the desire to have the workers and peasants regularly express their own special political and economic interests.

Hungarian society, to give it credit, is not so caste ridden as the Polish; the various strata do not talk past one another so much. But at the same time this prevents the strata from creating separate institutions for themselves. For example, the Hungarian worker aristocracy feels less than the Poles that it must do something different than the factory official stratum. And the Hungarian officials--after the experiences of 1956 and the economic reform--are less protected in their thinking as opposed to the fashionable economic slogans of the higher leadership. They have been bought over by the fact that there was a time when certain values could be questioned and that this questioning is not entirely unacceptable even today.

But much will have to be painted over if for 2-3 years we have an economic year as bad as this allegedly good year. Our economy is a good bit more fragile than we think and the leading stratum, in the self-satisfaction of their bad conscience, puts off from year to year the development of structures which would be more flexible and capable of reacting.

Speaking frankly, I myself miscalculated in connection with the Polish events. I traveled much in Poland in the 1960's and I did not believe in the possibility of such a swift political maturation. I had pleasant contacts, of course, but on the whole I did not believe that this intelligentsia, hating Germans, Russians and Slovaks, baiting the Jews and accepting coffee house demagoguery as ready cash, would have been capable of such agreement, extending even to details, which goes beyond the always false community of rallies and banners. I was pleasantly surprised, because what is in the foreground is not resounding slogans but rather the agreement of the intellectuals and workers, extending even to everyday things. I believe that all this could not have come to pass without the outbreaks of the workers and the lasting work of the opposition.

A 25-Year-Old Primary School Teacher in a Small Trans-Danubian City

[Question] I know that you have been to Poland many times and have even studied Polish. What aroused your interest in the Poles?

[Answer] It may have been the historical tradition of Polish-Hungarian friendship which directed my attention to them. The common kingdom, etc. You know that I am very interested in history. And I am religious too and the religious feeling of the Poles--as everyone knows--is very deep and strong.

[Question] Have you been watching the August events?

[Answer] Of course, and not only what happened in August. Actually I have been watching every movement since I was in secondary school.

[Question] Then obviously you understood from the very beginning that the strike would make political demands. What did you expect then, did you think it possible that these things would happen?

[Answer] In the first place I expected that something would happen in Poland because conditions were what they were. But I expected that the larger part of the demands would be economic. And I did not expect that the public protest would be so great, so I thought the situation was less extreme. I expected the workers to take a good bit less of a stand for their rights. I was only happy that it did not turn out as I expected. It shows the maturity of the Polish workers that the political demands dominated.

What faith did I have in success? I must admit that I had strong doubts--in connection with whether the power would intervene. Later, however, it became increasingly clear that they would not intervene, for various political reasons. I came to the conclusion that intervention would be virtual suicide for the Soviet Union.

But even then I did not expect such success, I counted on results a good bit more modest; so there may have been problems a good bit more serious than I imagined, for the regime to have become so conciliatory. The other side is that I thought they would be satisfied with a good bit less. But the latest events--the 1 hour warning strike--show that they are strong and dare to undertake what hides in what has been achieved, dare to take risks to get even more. In my opinion this is only gratifying. According to some opinions they are going too far and so will provoke a new Czechoslovakia. I do not share this opinion and I would hazard that Poland will never be a Czechoslovakia. This is the largest people in eastern Europe with a powerful religious guiding force and, what cannot be ignored, a Polish Pope and with the uniting of the worker class, something certainly caused by the social problems. The worker class is united not only in this but also in opposing, almost as a whole, the Soviet Union, and a good part of the worker class opposes the official ideology too. So we have a people determined for anything, which has proven many times already that they are capable of heroism--I mention only the most recent examples, World War II, cavalry attacks against tanks, the Warsaw Uprising--a people united and strong, so any Soviet intervention would be very risky, and they must know that too.

[Question] You are well acquainted with Polish conditions, you know many religious people. So let me ask you, something the western press has written so much about, the masses in the factory courtyards, everybody participating--how much of this was sincere religious feeling, at least to the extent that these people



go to mass regularly under different circumstances, and to what extent was it a political demonstration?

[Answer] Look, this is mixed. For example, I am religious, but at the same time I do not condemn a demonstration which takes a religious form. Certainly everyone went sincerely and with sincere faith to the Gdansk masses, but I would hazard that at the same time everyone knew that he was going not only to a mass but also to a demonstration.

[Question] Here in Hungary, what lessons are there from what has happened in Poland?

[Answer] Well, even at the level of a joke we have reached the point where they are sending people to the free trade union. A worker goes to his boss--I have heard of such a case--and says, "This is too little money, this is not how long I worked." And the boss answers, "Well, my friend, if we had a free trade union you could go there and make a claim."

Especially among workers I have frequently met with the opinion that, wonder take me, it was the Poles--something would be good here too. But here ideological and political things are very much in the background as compared to economic things (among the workers). In Hungary there is hardly a worker who would risk his 4,000-5,000 forint pay with even a sentence voiced at a conference. There is something in what Konrai says, that at present only the "partisans of the type-writer" rattle--their ideas.

[Question] I would like you to tell me in more detail what opinions and observations you have heard in connection with the Polish events.

[Answer] Among young people, only positive opinions. (Of course, to do something, that is something else). But among older people it is often said that something stinks here, that they have fulfilled suspiciously many demands suspiciously quickly. So the intimidated 50 year olds have reservations, they very much expect a counter-action. But at the same time the thing itself pleases them too; many have said in my presence that they would be happier if they did not have a bad premonition.

[Question] You have not met with those who do not like it?

[Answer] There have been such opinions but these were--how shall I put it--more primitive opinions, that now they will take the meat away from us.... Uninformed, uneducated people.

[Question] Have you talked about this theme with the priests?

[Answer] Not especially, but the theme has come up in several conversations. They said only good things. Like the official church opinion, that they are against all violence but the workers are demanding the right to protect themselves. The church has made its own the principle of honest pay for honest work; indeed, it is my opinion that the Christian utopians formulated it first and so it got into the encyclicals, all the way to the social encyclicals.

The other thing is the position taken by the church just recently. Even today I do not understand this. The explanation probably is that there have been intensive talks between the supreme leadership of the church and the government behind the scenes. It is probable that the church will submit a bill, get something for having the Primate urge moderation; indeed, repayment may have begun already. But I have no precise information.

Well, we will see. In any case, thus far the Polish church has only won in the strikes. Radio and television are providing religious hours without the peace priest chatter.

[Question] Is there anything else you would like to say?

[Answer] I do not know how the situation of the Polish universities will develop after the summer strikes. I was in Krakow immediately after the police beat a student to death--his funeral was a real mass demonstration. And the Polish students have always participated in such movements. Not even to speak of the fact that one of the demands of the strikers was that they had to take back the students expelled from the university for political reasons. And they did it! So this semester quite a group of students will go back who are politically committed in advance; the prestige of these is now growing, and obviously they will have a leading role.

In recent years there has been increasing emphasis on the formation of student federations opposed to the present united youth organization--similar to the KISZ. This was not permitted last year or the year before. But it is probable that now a powerful action will bring permission. And I have faith in the Polish university students, that they will exploit the favorable moment.

#### A 54-Year-Old Metal Worker

[Question] What sort of opinions have you heard about the Polish events?

[Answer] One of my relatives was of the opinion that these Poles do not work and that is why they are so poor. I am of a different opinion. I have been to Poland twice. They like to work but it may be there as it is here, that a very simple person cannot get ahead. And it may be there that if, let us say, I am a party member there is no need to work, whatever stupidity one spouts out one gets the money. It may be that way there too. This may be the cancer of this socialism.

[Question] Can the free trade unions survive?

[Answer] Now it will be 20 years at least--in my opinion--before they dare tighten up on the people. Because the Poles are a dogged people, one cannot speak disdainfully with them. Of course, a thief is a thief there too.

If these people have backbone and are not two-faced then these agreements have to be held to. There may be something wrong with management there because the Poles could live well on coal, wheat, corn and potatoes. But they too belong

to the great community and in every case the mother country casts the vote. Everyone manages for himself but the guiding principles, how to do it, are given "at home."

[Question] Could there be free trade unions in Hungary too?

[Answer] Things are watched much more vigilantly here than there, they could oppress such a center more quickly here. There was a 3-day what-d'ye-call-it in Csepel and even Kadar went out.

Maybe there is more freedom there, maybe they don't have so many police and soldiers, maybe the sons and fathers are not opposed so much.

I also thought about when this Pope was there at home.... They have not yet succeeded in wiping religion out of the Polish people as they have elsewhere. They still have nuns and such as before. And it may be that this had a part in what happened.

A 40-Year-Old Metal Worker

[Question] Were you surprised at the strikes and political demands?

[Answer] I wasn't surprised. Anyway, I do not deal with politics. The poverty is great enough there. The constant price increases. Their pay was not in synch with the prices. Now I do not think that anything more serious will come of it, because these things have been prepared. Either they yield now or there may be more serious events very quickly. Both sides will yield. Maybe the new leaders will think more normally, the workers will work. The newspaper says that the trade union is pestering for something, doing something. Because it is doing no more than collecting the stamps.

[Question] Where do you get your information?

[Answer] First of all from Free Europe and Free Europe has praised the Hungarian papers for publishing first. Although even they were late. And I do not believe them entirely.

[Question] What is your opinion about the independent trade unions?

[Answer] If it was like they wrote it was OK. It will be good for the state, the government and the workers. And so it will be better for the state.

[Question] Can the deal be overturned?

[Answer] The whole world knows about it now, they can't keep it secret. Now it is a question of honor, until something breaks down. If no one violates it. And if anyone violates it only the workers lose because they cannot do anything like this soon again. Because now they are prepared. For example, a factory has 5,000 workers and of these 500 are party members. This is 10 percent. They can get weapons any time, the others can't. So this is what is prepared. The Poles can't do this again, it would be ridiculous.

So how will they comply with it? What I mean by honor is, for example, you and me are fighting and we take hold of one another with equal strength and I hit you in the ear so you will let go. And when you let go I knock you down. They will do this neatly and slowly so you don't notice it. They do everything neatly and slowly.

[Question] Will the Polish events have an effect in Hungary?

[Answer] We are at least as poor as they are. I do not believe there can be any big effect. Maybe we will have to put up some of the couple billion they wasted there. This is what it is to be a modern beggar. Not just the Hungarians of course, but the socialist states. In my opinion there will be no other effect. At most we will have to work communist shifts.

A 25-Year-Old Instrument Maker, Party Member

[Question] Have you heard about the political demands of the strikers?

[Answer] I first heard about what happened on TV and at first I didn't believe it. There was a communique, I don't know who sent an appeal to the Gdansk workers, that they would gain nothing if they didn't go back to work. Then there was talk--inside--about what happened with the Poles. My colleagues said they heard it on Free Europe. What they said could be believed, exaggerated a bit as we exaggerate things. Free Europe spoke of political events while the Hungarian media said the strike was not political. But in such a nationwide commotion there had to be those who wanted political things and those who did not want to change the system.

[Question] What is your opinion about the free trade unions?

[Answer] I was shocked at the strike itself. I had doubts about it because there has never been such a thing. I am strong for the workers' party. For the workers to demand a free trade union is a gigantic thing. Because here the trade union does not function as it should. Let us take a boss, for example. He is on the trade union committee. He defends the interests of the factory and cannot provide trade union interest protection in one person. Actually the trade union is the interest protection organization of the workers. This is what it should be. Maybe this is why they have trade unions in the west. And as for me, why do I pay my dues? Not to provide work clothes and wash basins in the shop. I get these even if I am not a member. The trade union is in one hand, this is what matters. They wanted to put an end to this in Poland, this is what they demanded and it is a great thing. And in Poland there are shops for various state leaders and uniformed personnel--we have them here too (for soldiers, police and such). Security people. They wanted a trade union outside the factory and they got it, if I am informed correctly. There was a debate about this for a long time but it was formed; that's 100 percent. Inside they said that the guy who made the strike in Gdansk was a father with several children and he was in some trouble around 1970. In a word, he was the chief organizer and he became their chief.

[Question] In your opinion what will happen in Poland?



[Answer] I believe--of course, I am not experienced in politics or economics--but in my opinion everything will stay the same. The state leadership will not permit it; it was in vain to change them. After a while things will be done superficially and everything will remain the same. Indeed, I have a feeling that as tempers cool these strike organizers will disappear. When the situation is tranquil they will be brought to account. Their colleagues will not know where they are. That's how I see it. People disappear. For example, they will be drafted and disappear. It is not difficult to make one or even more people disappear.

[Question] Will all this have an effect here at home?

[Answer] In my opinion there was an effect in connection with the price increases here in September. Of course I can't prove it. But there were vague rumors that there would be price increases. Then came the news that there would be no price increases here. In my opinion this was because they were afraid of some commotion here too. The question concerns the leadership too because they are concerned that there could be some effect here. Concretely, of course, I cannot say what sort of effect it was.

[Question] Might the workers strike here too?

[Answer] I understand and approve of this movement. The vague rumor is that there was some sort of commotion in Csepel too. Maybe I am prejudiced in favor of the workers; the workers do not do anything without reason. It takes great bitterness--I do not say abject poverty--but great bitterness for a strike to break out.

Dr Tibor Pakh, Jurist

His name became known throughout Europe in the spring of 1980 when--as the only Hungarian participant--he joined in Poland the solidarity hunger strike for the release of the workers of the independent publisher NOWA. This was not the first time Pakh had turned to this powerful form of protest. In 1960 he was sentenced to 15 years in prison on the basis of charges in connection with 1956. Beginning in 1966, first with petitions and then with hunger strikes, he demanded treatment suiting political prisoners and an end to the abuses of the internal affairs organs from inside the prisons. On three occasions he was forced to submit to electroshock and when he continued his hunger strike even then he was stamped as a psychiatric case. Despite this he was kept in prison for years longer. In 1971 he was placed in a civilian closed institution, from which he was released after a few months.

He received us with traditional courtesy in his sub-let room on the wall of which a crucifix was the only decoration. He gave his answers for transcription with the precision and speed of a man used to dictating for police records.

[Question] Why did you take part in the hunger strike of the Poles?

[Answer] For 1,000 years the development of the history of the Hungarians and the Poles has had a crucial influence on the fate of central and eastern Europe.

Saint Adalbert, of Czech birth, who baptized our King Stephen, is our common guardian saint and is now buried in Gniezno.

In his spirit and under the protection of the Virgin Mother--Patrona Hungariae and Regina Poloniae--I wanted to participate in the protest fast of our Polish brothers, which they conducted in the Podkowa Leśna church near Warsaw, for 10 days.

When I arrived I asked permission to join them and to my great pleasure they did permit it. They explained that the basis for their action was the International Union document on Civil and Political Rights, which originated in 1966 and which Hungary also put into law in 1976. The right of self-determination of nations and the freedoms of individuals, which the agreement sets forth, are the only basis on which the troubles and problems of our peoples and region can be resolved.

The most varied groups and strata of Polish society were represented among the fasters--religious people and atheists, workers and intellectuals, young people and old. They regarded my participation as a symbol of our solidarity. I hope that I succeeded in contributing to making deeper Hungarian-Polish friendship.

Every day we took part in holy mass. The church and its environs were filled to overflowing. Those participating in the holy mass were completely united with us in spirit. One could feel the active operation of the Holy Ghost.

[Question] What is your opinion about the changes in Poland now?

[Answer] I am not a sociologist but I feel that what has now come into being among the Poles could be called a revolutionary worker class.

I feel that the protest fast at Podkowa Leśna contributed to the unfolding of democracy but obviously its significance is dwarfed in comparison to the present transformation on a national scale. This is a united movement of the entire Polish worker class while our little gathering can be regarded as the profound and united supplication of a group of heterogeneous composition.

I very much hope that the Hungarian people recognize the significance of the present victories of the Polish people and will show solidarity with the Polish people, as could be experienced already in a number of isolated cases. This applies to all the peoples of central and eastern Europe. It would have fatal consequences for the Hungarian people if they forgot about historical continuity and, bowing to whatever force, should participate in any way or to any degree in an action directed at stifling the democratic unfolding in Poland.

A Young Catholic Priest

[Question] To what extent, in your opinion, are the Polish developments Christian occurrence?

[Answer] The discipline, restraint and solidarity of the strikers can all be attributed to Catholicism. The course of events cannot be separated from the

fact that the Polish church identifies itself with the Polish people, and the people with the church. It is true that this has long been true and is not a new development.

They say that the Polish people are so Catholic in order to thus express their rejection of communism. I find nothing to reject in this. The task of the church is justice, in every area--in the social and national area alike.

In contrast to this the Hungarian church is reactionary. The supreme leadership does not represent authentic Christian ideals now--any more than it did during World War II.

[Question] How has the Polish news been received in church circles?

[Answer] The reception was of two types, just as the Hungarian church has two branches in regard to social behavior.

The one lines up behind Primate Lekai--the greater part of the Bench of Bishops, faithful to the regime, and of course a good number of the lower priests and believers who think in the traditional manner. These leaders are fearful of pressure from below that might force them to take independent action in regard to the state, the State Church Affairs Office. On a number of occasions the Polish Bench of Bishops has more or less reprimanded the Hungarians, telling them to stand their ground with more determination. Their dislike for the turning is expressed in their silence.

They are afraid of the progressive minor priests, and recently of the Vatican also. The Hungarian question has come to the fore there and there is now much correspondence with the Hungarians. They are asking questions which are at the same time goads for stronger action. Religious instruction is an example of this; in general they think that this is solved--in reality we suffer much because of it. The restraints--unfortunately--come rather from our leaders than from the State. It is apparent, concerning the policy of Cardinal Casaroli, that use is not being made of the credit of the church nor of the work of evangelization. In an unfortunate way the interests of the power of the Hungarian [church] hierarchy and of the state now coincide.

According to my estimates 80 percent of the young people and half of the older people belong to the other branch. But they are divided and isolated from one another. We have watched the Polish events with positive sentiments. We see in them proof that the Church can exert pressure on the State, can change the role it plays in society--if it gives up the ambiguous cooperation with the power, sharing in the power.

The demand for Christian justice is not apolitical but rather a rejection of power politics, Christian support for the oppressed.

[Question] What was your opinion about the strikes?

[Answer] It is true that in a few places the church denies its own employees the right to strike. But in reality an ecumenical resolution supports the right of workers to strike.

The demand of the free trade union fills one with satisfaction in several ways. The new unity between intellectuals and workers is fascinating. Using the enlightenment work called samizdat the intellectuals were able to reach the workers too. There is now lively contact between social strata in Poland.

The demand of the trade union reflects an appreciation of reality. Their economic demands can be realized and this is not without political consequences. The church can calmly support these organizations for they are comprehensive, anyone can participate in them, they are apolitical politicians, their principle is solidarity.

I would have been against the strikes if they--with or without church inspiration--had tended toward the formation of a political party. The church cannot participate in power politics. They take this seriously in Poland from every side. They say: "Shout into parliament, but do not go." In sharp contrast to the Hungarians.

[Question] What are your expectations?

[Answer] Everything depends on economic progress. If they can master the economic catastrophe then I am an optimist. Without this there is greater danger of external intervention. I have faith that the new trade unions do not want to make direct political demands or exercise direct political pressure.

In the long run this behavior would be beneficial, would encourage democratization. I have no fear that prosperity would corrupt the Poles, not now. Their historical experiences do not permit them to make false compromises. Michnik justly criticized the ZNAK, saying that there is a direct road from compromise to being compromised.

If they master the economy then development will be a matter of a few years on the present foundations.

[Question] Will there be a change in the role of the Polish Church?

[Answer] There will be no need. If there is need then, of course, it will stand with the movement in its own way.

[Question] How do you evaluate the August TV speech of Wyszynski?

[Answer] At that point he very much feared violent intervention by the state. But he was not hostile to the strikers. He was cautious, he wanted to impose discipline on the strikers. He trusted that the Poles would take his words not as a condemnation of the workers but rather as encouraging caution.

[Question] Perhaps--like so many--he did not think a break-through was possible. Did you?

[Answer] Earlier, during the strikes, I was in Poland. I saw the great poverty and I was sure that Gierok must fall.



I heard about the trade union demands here at home; I dared not trust in their success. But the new adherents (Szczecin, etc.) gave me hope. Poland has taught all of us to have faith and courage.

Pál Szalai, Librarian

[Question] Do you believe in the Polish changes?

[Answer] Yes. These are real changes, of structural significance.

[Question] Can they be reversed?

[Answer] The experiences of two eastern European tragedies show that even well founded changes can be reversed--with violence.

But perhaps--going beyond the Polish uniqueness--the international situation, the social-psychological adjustment of Europe after Helsinki, makes violent intervention improbable.

[Question] Can they be integrated, will they be integrated into the system?

[Answer] I do not consider their integration desirable because this would only lead--in one way or another--to the restoration of the monolithic structure. It is just whether the developments can be integrated that has become the question. Reality has been given to the saying popular here, that the party has hegemony but not a monopoly.

But integration does not seem likely. For example, it is possible to integrate--or reintegrate--the Polish Peasant Party which now emphasizes an independent policy--for it does so only under the pressure of events. But it is not possible to integrate the KOR or the ROPCIO, for example, because these are true--although for the time being latent--parties. The competition of parties, trade unions and forums cannot be integrated into the monolithic structure--and this competition has now begun. Only violence can break down the independence of an organization winning independence and authorized on the right of its independence.

[Question] So you are an optimist.

[Answer] Yes, as regards Poland. But I do not see that other eastern European countries are capable of reform also.

[Question] Not even Hungary?

[Answer] Some of the intellectuals may cut it but this is not coupled with worker ferment. And the intellectuals are not "ready" either. As a whole they took an extraordinarily antisocial, pseudo-democratic, pseudo-liberal position after 1956. For 1 or 2 years this situation has been breaking up somewhat but this ferment is not comprehensive and it does not extend to the worker class.

[Question] In your opinion, how did Hungarian society react to the Polish events?

[Answer] In my opinion with offensively strong apathy. Even the shifts in official statements showed greater sensitivity, although they were very cautious.

[Question] Long-range effects?

[Answer] As I see it they are trying to smuggle in certain elements of the economic reform through the back door. But it is possible that consistent reform will again fall as a result of conservative resistance. If there is an economic catastrophe then of course this would cause a political crisis. Naturally I do not want us to be hungry for a crisis.

On the other hand they want to buy time with whispering propaganda, as in previous cases when they had to reckon with the contrast of true liberalism. This has happened twice under Kadarism, since 1959, "forgetting" the years of terror, first in 1967-1969 in the case of Czechoslovakia. Now, in the case of Poland, it will be more difficult to say that they only want what we already have. In the final analysis Marxists initiated and led the Prague spring, and the populace accepted it. Despite all the differences this apparent parallel with Hungarian liberalism could have a certain effect on broad strata of the intelligentsia. The whispering propagandists of the "happiest barracks" will be in a more difficult situation now.

In any case it is clear that there cannot be a further structural improvement in Hungary without the workers "joining in." What is needed is for the non-intellectuals to say: I want to vote for my own candidate.

For the time being even the intellectuals are not at this point. They are very frightened even of that mild repression which followed the most recent solidarity protest, in the case of those in Prague.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] I do not know. They are still bound to the ideology of "it could only be worse," as if presuming that Kadar, or someone else, might again do what was done after 1956.

There is no basis for this fear in the present situation. An anti-intellectual, anti-Semitic, social demagog group could get in the saddle only if there were a cataclysm. Look, in Poland the corresponding group, the Moczar types, are being forced to play the reformer. Kania's people are "employing" them to investigate corruption within the party.

The reality is that with suitably self-aware forces and programs one could initiate the "Polish" changes, without fear, without the danger of repression. But these forces are not available; instead of putting together a program they are afraid.

Instead they are attributing achievements to their fear. In 1968 the Czechs did what many here would like to think was accomplished--create a constitutional state with Marxist hegemony. Now the Poles are doing what is only a myth in Hungary--making a compromise.

In reality what was created here after 1956 is not what we believe. The intellectuals accepted the dictatorship and within it they are trying to enjoy certain possibilities. But this is not a compromise, it is the shadow of compromise--exhaustion, consolidation, "Ausgleich." Our "Ausgleich" is far from being a real compromise.

Concretely: a coalition multi-party system, workers' councils, free trade unions, with institutional guarantees of ideological pluralism and, let us say, freedom for private peasant farming. These things, or a few of them, in a word achievements of structural significance, are those which, like the Bibó plan, would permit the creation of a citizenry, without the bourgeoisie. This would be a true compromise, a base for further progress--for defeat or victory. Now there is only defeat, even today, even if--for example in culture--significant ground has been won by a sort of plurality, more atomized than of a group character. Our achievements are still the concessions of the victor.

Now the Poles have shown that one can make real achievements, achieve a real compromise, without endangering the military interests of the Soviet Union, indeed, without even endangering the hegemony of the communist party.

Andras Hegedus, Sociologist, Former Prime Minister

[Question] You propose, something many dispute, a democratic developmental alternative for Eastern Europe in which as a result of historic compromise a pluralistic society will develop without multi-party parliamentarism. Could such a development take place now in Poland and do you count on its success?

[Answer] I do not bring up the historic compromise as some sort of political proposal but rather as a possible and desirable democratic developmental alternative which would ultimately lead to a new socialist "historic bloc" (Gramsci) transcending the present monolithic social systems. This would be a pluralistic society where:

--on the one hand, the power would tolerate the formation of autonomous social movements, organizations and trends which could not be integrated by it because it sees that an authentically socialist and dynamic society could not be formed without them, and where

--on the other hand, the forces arising as a control on the power and representing various social values and interests would not attempt either to shake the power by means of insurrection or, organizing themselves into political parties, to take over control of the state by means of parliamentary elections. They would be satisfied with those forms of social pressure and control which would develop as a result of the compromise in question, knowing that they would have to fight for their realization and expansion.

This would be a society where new forms of resolving conflicts would develop and thus sharp social crises could be avoided. This is not a harmonic social model, but the latter can be imagined only in some sort of hypocritical self-deception.

I think that thus far both sides in Poland have been proceeding on the path of such a compromise. After a few days of hesitation the government and party leadership recognized the inter-factory strike committee as a negotiating partner and eventually adopted the political and economic demands of the strike movement. Of these--in my opinion--the most important was authorization of the formation of autonomous, self-governing trade unions. Despite bureaucratic obstruction the development of the organizational frameworks of these is proceeding very dynamically.

The workers made demands which move within the framework of the compromise indicated by me; they are not directed at shaking the power but rather are aimed at the democratic transformation of it.

The cause of democratic development in Poland depends on whether the two sides adhere to the compromise which has developed. If either side should repudiate it it would take upon itself a gigantic historical responsibility. In this case every condition would exist for a bloody civil war which would have unforeseeable consequences not only for Europe but for the fate of the world.

[Question] Do you think that as a result of the differing development of the two countries one can avoid in Hungary such a social crisis as unfolded in Poland in August of this year?

[Answer] I might say this conditionally but not at all with certainty. How the future will develop depends largely on what transpires:

--either a reform policy which drains off social tensions and increasing tolerance of different opinions and various currents of independent thinking, or

--an arrogant "hard hand policy" which increases tensions, against everyone who even counts on the strength of the spirit.

A number of circumstances make it easier to "stay ahead of events" in Hungary. As a whole the Hungarian economy is not in such a hopeless situation as the Polish one. Although in the first half of the 1970's the same errors were made here as in Poland (raising nominal wages for political reasons, forcing investments, assuming foreign credits on the basis of ill-founded economic calculations, reducing small commodity production and services, etc.) the Hungarian leaders reacted quickly to the feedback signals. Not least of all this is thanks to the fact that in the 1970's the reform economists were not forced into external or internal emigration. Already in 1975 significant support was given to agricultural small commodity production, previously forced back, and from that time increasing emphasis was given to the importance of the domestic realization of world market prices. It is also a significant difference between the two countries that the supply of consumer goods has developed satisfactorily here. In Poland, on the other hand, there have been serious difficulties for years in supplying the populace with basic foodstuffs.

Naturally the price increases last year increased social tension here also. The domestic leadership must reckon with this. But with carefully thought out political and economic reforms--in my opinion--we can get through the "seven lean



years" of economic life before us without any great national crisis. Thus--however paradoxical it may appear--the difficulties of economic life may become sources for the unfolding of democratic development.

[Question] Is what is happening in Poland important from the Hungarian viewpoint?

[Answer] Because of two special circumstances we Hungarians are especially interested in the maintaining and consolidation of the compromise which has developed in Poland.

--What is now happening in Poland could serve as a very rich experience and incentive for democratic development here. Naturally, in this case also, we must be very careful to avoid mechanical copying, which has caused so much damage already in the history of our people.

--The two peoples have not had a hostile relationship with one another since they became nations, virtually at the same time; indeed, they have always supported one another in their independence aspirations. It would be the greatest shame of our history if we became a tool of outside intervention on the basis of any argument.

I watch everything that is happening in Poland with anxious hope.

Gyorgy Bence, Philosopher

[Question] I know that you are closely following the developments in Poland. Was there any turn--let us say the announcement of political goals in the middle of August--which came unexpectedly?

[Answer] As a whole I followed what happened with the feeling--why deny it, a pleasant feeling--that, at last, what I expected is happening. And my pleasure cannot be taken from me if things turn out badly. Something has happened which did not happen in 1956, nor in 1968....

But wait a minute! What I am saying could be misinterpreted in two ways--that is why I feared the interview. In the first place, I know the sort of threats the Poles have invited; I can imagine the sort of responsibility oppressing the opposition there. But we who do things which at most can cause trouble only for ourselves can take pleasure more serenely. This is the advantage of a latecomer. In the second place, I certainly do not want to attribute to myself the powers of a prophet. Everyone felt this way who knew and adopted the ideas of Kuron and Michnik, the founders of the Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR). It rarely happens in history that a daring political idea is realized to this degree.

[Question] During the strikes new organizations and new names came into the fore and perhaps this obscures somewhat the original program. Could you tell us in a few words in what you see the essence?

[Answer] Let me try a few comparisons.

Formerly there was a comprehensive picture of a good political system floating before the eyes of those who wanted democracy here, in Soviet Eastern Europe. Complete parliamentary democracy, or total self-determination, or a synthesis of the two, that sort of thing. But to unfurl the banner openly, to organize, to gather followers--this was held to be impossible in normal times. This would be only self-denunciation, exhibitionistic martyrdom, they may have thought, and not without foundation. Some awaited the one great possibility, the shaking of the power; until then they only wanted to preserve the holy flame. Some lit a little night-light so there would be a little more light within the walls of official institutions.

After 1976 the Polish democratic opposition came forward with a new idea, almost the opposite of the old one. They did not bind themselves to any comprehensive plan for a democratic system. It had to be admitted--they said--that the essentially antidemocratic system would remain for the foreseeable future. But even then, within this, some ground could be won for democratic self-determination; democratic demands could be formulated, openly, within certain limits. But this ground must be won by force; only a common stand could give weight to the demands.

Such an open-helmet opposition developed not only among the Poles. But it had the most political character among them. In Czechoslovakia the oppression is so brutal that preserving individual honor is slowly becoming the chief content of opposition behavior. The organization, the group is forced to defend itself. In small communities they try to make up for what has been taken from them in great society. At most they may think to reconquer a small position. Among those who "think differently" here at home there is a certain reluctance or aversion regarding politics in many. And oppression being a good bit milder here it is obviously not for this reason....

[Question] But the Polish free trade unions also say that they do not want to do politics?

[Answer] It would be easy to counter: Of course they are involved in politics, only they don't say so because this makes it easier for the party to swallow the bitter pill. But I believe it was not because of force alone or for the sake of compromise that they have used the formula to which you refer. They really do not want to participate in making or carrying out decisions. It is as if they were saying: You do it, if that's the way it has to be, but do it well because we have to pay the piper for everything and we won't take it any more. This too is politics, this is how one speaks from a position of power. But this is only a counter-power. They do not want to take over power.

[Question] Is not this an exaggeration? Do you want to explain everything from the new Polish tactics? Are you saying that they thought it out in advance and organized the whole thing?

[Answer] Look, I wasn't there, and we are talking about something for which, obviously, they won't beat a big drum. Still, I suspect that the strike would not have been concluded with such discipline and harmony without serious preparation. The prior propaganda was done openly. Samizdat gave the slogan, to stay in the factory, and spread the idea of a free trade union.

So was everything planned? We take certain interdependencies seriously only in a situation which has already developed, even if it was not impossible to foresee them. In the original thinking the party figured only as a limiting factor. Something from which functions had to be won, something which had to be forced back. Now, even if a bad turn is constantly to be feared, we begin to see that the party and free trade union are coexisting. And coexistence supposes some cooperation, in the course of which both sides change. Is it not possible that the party will seek an ideology for itself which does not derive from the idea of omnipotence? On the basis of which it may slowly become one party among many? Perhaps we should not think of the party as an organization but rather simply as a group of people whose social position is tied to existing institutions. This is a truly large group and it consists not only of senseless people. If we are pluralists let us be so! We should imagine a future which includes them. But, I am afraid my imagination is getting a bit ahead of me....

[Question] Yes, let us return to earth, if possible to domestic affairs. What will follow in Hungary from the Polish developments?

[Answer] We need a free trade union too. And if the worst does not happen in Poland this will give a strong argument to those who think this way. What exists is obviously possible.

[Question] Is not the situation of the workers in Hungary entirely different, much better...?

[Answer] I know this will cause an outcry. "You see," they will say, "what happened. Didn't the workers in Poland rebel because they were hungry? And can't we get meat at the butchers? The opposition is arguing, the worse the better!" This is like before 1945 when they said, if the Bolsheviks come even the women will be held in common. All rational argument is in vain, but this affected some.

This was not a hunger revolt. As Bibó would say, it was also a "revolt for human dignity." One had to see those faces! The pictures, and what they said, this said a lot.

The Polish workers are also struggling against self-exploitation. They are badly paid for 8 hours work, so they are permitted to work another four or six. There this happens largely within the factory gates; here it happens in the liberal paradise of the second economy. So of course they are lazy in the first 8 hours.

Perhaps the strikers and the free trade unions in Poland will force them to a 1968 type economic reform, long overdue. Here this has been done half way or one quarter of the way, but even this helped a lot. But why not all the way? And is not the independent trade union the natural partner of the independent enterprise?

Janos Kis, Philosopher

[Question] In your opinion, what is happening in Poland?

[Answer] A compromise has been born between two implacably opposed aspirations. The one side demanded pluralization of the system; the other side was for maintaining a single-center, state-party political system. That there could be any agreement depended on the strength and discipline of the workers' movement. The regime would hardly have recognized the independent trade unions if it had not faced the ultimate alternative--either permit it or choose catastrophe. On the other hand, for it to be capable of this it had to be offered a deal which it could accept without falling apart from within or being overthrown from without. If the workers, let us say, had demanded the separation of party and state then the regime would have had no alternative to a catastrophe policy.

[Question] Is the power side a united bloc?

[Answer] Since the end of August they have purged the party leadership in several waves. It may be that the victims were simply scapegoats; it may be that they lost in a real power struggle. In any case the new leadership is constantly talking about a renewal of the party and the state. But there is no sign that an Imre Nagy type revisionist or a Dubcek type reformer will appear. I do not mean that one would need revisionist or reformist leaders who adopt the goals of the workers in order to maintain the compromise. What is needed are realistic politicians who see clearly what the interest of the regime requires in a situation in which a social opposition cannot be liquidated with manipulation or limited repression.

[Question] Can the compromise between the two sides be a lasting one?

[Answer] Not, I think, as a static condition. The agreements made at the end of August did not create a consensus between the two sides. Struggle, a power struggle, will decide the fate of the compromise. The question is, in the mean time, will both sides remain receptive to new and new--temporary--compromises. Let us take an example. The Gdansk agreement contains a paragraph that the censorship law will be modified. Probably this will be done. But the official press can still be very well controlled. There is no institutionalized, prior censorship in Hungary but the journalists and editors still know very well where the limits of their freedom are. Only the government has also promised that the independent trade unions will be permitted to publish their own publications. It will not be possible to control these via the hierarchic channels of state administration. So the regime will be faced with a new choice--to tolerate the greater freedom of the trade union press or try to put its foot down. If it tolerates it then the official press too may increase pressure in the interest of greater freedom, because it could be rather unpleasant to be a hired pen in a country where there are real journalists too. On the other hand the trade unions must constantly decide how far to go in exploiting their greater independence.

I think that this example can be generalized. It would be odd if the victories of the workers did not mobilize other social groups. We shall see the university students demanding independent student organizations, writers demanding freedom to publish and university and academic bodies demanding autonomy and the right to have a say. It is not impossible that this process will become uncontrollable.



But I do not believe that the dynamic nature of the conflict necessarily means that a catastrophe is unavoidable. It would be a good thing if the movement spread to more and more strata, if more and more strata achieved the degree of organization achieved by the worker class. The situation will become dangerous if in the mean time the regime is unable to preserve power over its own apparatus, if the functionaries do not receive unambiguous instructions and begin to "jockey for position"--because they have less and less faith that the present leadership will last long. So I think the critical question is whether the party leadership will be strong enough to keep the functionaries from vacillating while the social movement goes forward.

[Question] Presuming the possibility of such a restrained dynamic, where will it end?

[Answer] If the power does not collapse, decreasing the chance of military intervention by the Soviet Union, then I imagine that something will happen in Poland similar to what happened in Spain in the last 10-15 years of Franco's life. The elements of political pluralism will develop, partly tolerated and partly recognized in law, while the most important institutions of the system remain unaffected. The political system of Poland will be transformed from one of the Soviet type to something like the consolidated authoritarian systems. The party will remain the chief governing organization and will retain its hierarchic control in a number of areas but it will retreat from other areas, partly de facto and partly de jure.

[Question] Can you sum up the lessons?

[Answer] The chief lesson for me is that it is possible to have in a country with a Soviet system a radical mass movement the participants in which set themselves limited goals and adhere strictly to the limits set for them. The necessary condition for this is that the movement have at least an elementary form of organization so that the participants will be capable of controlling their behavior collectively.

Another important lesson of what has happened is that if the mass movement can mobilize serious social forces behind its limited goals then the regime is not forced to choose the solution which is least favorable for both sides, to liquidate it by force, but rather can accept a compromise with the forces facing it, as the lesser evil.

Finally, it has been proven that there can be open social conflict in the Soviet zone of influence in the course of which the political system of the country can begin to differentiate itself from that of the Soviet Union without this necessarily provoking armed intervention by the Soviet Union.

[Question] And what lessons are there for a Hungarian opposition?

[Answer] What I would like to say is, why is what was possible in Poland not possible in Hungary too? I believe it really is possible. If a mass movement struggling for limited goals comes into being in Hungary then it can be imagined that the Hungarian regime would choose the path of the same compromises as the

Polish and the leaders of the Soviet Union would take cognizance of this as in the Polish case. But we are far from realizing this "if." It is a commonplace that neither the social-psychological nor the organizational conditions are given for us to have a mass movement of the Polish type in the near future. The opposition in Hungary must struggle with problems of a good bit lower level than in Poland.

[Question] There are those who see this the other way around. According to them it was only the catastrophic Polish economic situation which caused the mass movement there. The unspoken opinion behind such a position is that there is a path leading to democratization without open action by the masses and the opposition.

[Answer] Thus far in the history of Soviet eastern Europe there have been two sorts of experiment the spokesmen for which promised that the result of it would be some sort of independent, democratic system. The classic examples of the first were Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. I do not believe that anyone would seriously think that as long as the Soviet Union is indisputably the leading power in eastern Europe the Hungarian '56 or the Czechoslovak '68 could be repeated with a happy-end.

The other version is a series of reforms measured out from above, like the Hungarian economic reform of 1968, with accompanying cultural and political phenomena. These do not provoke Soviet military intervention, but they can be reversed at any time. Those elements which would accompany a radical continuation of reform do not have their own positions from which they could defend the victories won and force new concessions in opposition to the regime.

So I think that the way to approach democracy in eastern Europe today leads between the two historical dead-ends--neither totally threatening the authority of the system nor gratefully receiving reforms introduced from above. Rather, there should be limited transformations behind which stand independently organized forces independent of the power. This has been the tactical program of the Polish opposition since 1976 and this program is being realized in Poland today.

Of course, it does not follow from this that the matter is timely in Hungary too. It is an undisputed fact that Polish politics has been a series of failures since 1956 while Hungarian politics has been a series of successes. Since the 1960's the regime in Hungary has been able to ensure, relatively continuously, a slow increase or at least stagnation in the standard of living and minimal conditions for private existence. There is no public opinion forming social group which has been completely destroyed as a group. It is understandable that it is just in Hungary that there is the strongest general conviction that it is worth it to give up active influence over policy because in exchange one can get much more tangible advantages than are promised by the--in any case very risky--political struggle.

But how long will the regime be in the fortunate position of being able to satisfy every larger public opinion forming group? Politics could take place under uniquely favorable conditions in the 1960's and early 1970's. But no player gets

good cards all the time. The relatively even development which characterized the Hungarian economy until the first third of the 1970's has obviously come to an end. The frequency of economic changes which cause shocks will increase. And with this there will be increasing readiness on the part of the populace to change their relationship to politics. And people can be moved not only by a deterioration in economic conditions. The mood is deteriorating because of the fate of the Hungarian minorities beyond the border also. Fewer and fewer believe that the government will do anything for the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia and Romania. The Afghanistan adventure of the Soviet Union has awakened many to the dangers of our external dependence. There are signs of ferment in the churches.... The Hungarian regime dealt cleverly with society as long as it was enough not to provide conflicts. It was different in this respect than the Polish regime. But if conflicts ripen of themselves then it will be seen that the two regimes had a minimal advantage in relation to their common organic trouble, that neither of them was democratic. Social conflicts arise sooner or later in every system but only democratic systems can resolve their conflicts without crisis.

The little groups of the Hungarian opposition are hardly able to influence the development of a crisis. At present their social influence is very small. They hardly go beyond the intelligentsia and even therein they involve the individuals in more marginal positions or of more marginal temper. But it is one of the symptoms of the approaching crisis that within this sphere the influence of the opposition is increasing appreciably. Today a good many more than 2-3 years ago are inclined to participate actively in movements initiated by the opposition and which take place outside official frameworks. It is also indisputable that the degree of organization of the opposition is increasing. Compared to the earlier amorphous state the present state of the Hungarian opposition can be called really structured.

And if we look at what those little groups which make up the Hungarian opposition are doing we see that there is something on a small scale like the Poles are doing on a large scale. Situations are being created in which the regime must choose--either mobilize the organizations of force against them, or be satisfied with more moderately portioned repressive measures, which in a country with a Soviet system is the same as tolerating them.

8984

CSO: 2500

## UTILIZATION OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY IN CIVIL DEFENSE DESCRIBED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 1, Jan 81 p 6

[Text] Civil defense leaders recently had an opportunity to participate in a large scale computer technology demonstration. On this occasion there was a report on a computerized records system for shelters, which was made truly interesting by running a computer program.

Those participating included Antal Jantner, deputy minister of construction affairs and urban development, and Col Imre Perger, national deputy staff commander of civil defense.

After a greeting and opening words by Endre Balogh, a department chief in the Ministry of Construction Affairs and Urban Development, Dr Atilla Kovacs, director of POINFORM, and programmer Eva Kertai briefed those present on the structure of the city leadership data bank.

The possible versions are:

1. A regional module: base and polygons subsystem; public area identification subsystem; plot registry and area identification subsystem; garden subsystem.
2. A buildings module: a register of buildings managed by the IKV [Real Estate Management Enterprise]; a register of residential buildings in private or cooperative ownership; buildings of educational institutions; buildings of health institutions; buildings of administrative institutions; buildings for agricultural purposes; buildings for industrial activity; warehouses and hangars; life protection installations; bridges and under-passes; statues.
3. A network module: road network subsystem; water network subsystem; gas network subsystem; sewerage network subsystem; central heating subsystem; bathing network subsystem; postal lines subsystem; electrical lines subsystem; metro subsystem; tram rail and lines subsystem; special lines subsystem.
4. An organizational module: directory and changes; educational activity subsystem; cultural activity subsystem; health activity subsystem; administrative activity subsystem; industrial and construction subsystem; agricultural activity subsystem; commercial activity subsystem; catering activity subsystem; transportation activity subsystem; public service activity subsystem.



5. A population module: demographic subsystem; residence registry subsystem; occupation subsystem; wage and income subsystem; tax subsystem.

6. Special subsystems: investment information subsystem; road-sign registry subsystem; transportation vehicles subsystem; accident records subsystem; housing requests subsystem; housing assignments subsystem; supply subsystem.

The subsystem for life protection installations fits closely into the buildings module. Decree No 32/1977 (XII. 31.) of the Ministry of Construction Affairs and Urban Development calls for keeping records on life protection installations. A national data bank could be prepared on the basis of the Budapest experiences of FOINFORM.

After the professional briefings there was a presentation by Lt Col Sander Kovacs, candidate in military science. Among other things he said the following:

"From the beginning the National Command of Civil Defense has studied with great interest ideas connected with developing a uniform information system. Even at the time of the preparation of directives we indicated that we attributed great significance to the development and realization of such a system, not only in regard to city leadership tasks but also from the viewpoint of defense.

"Every module of the comprehensive draft system for a city leadership data bank is an important part of situation analysis serving to reduce the consequences of a blow on the capital by traditional weapons or possibly by a nuclear missile, to quickly and precisely determine the personnel and material losses to be expected and to use most efficiently the forces and assets needed for rescue.

"Starting from this circumstance we determined the record keeping requirements for life protection installations at the time the buildings module was being worked out. A joint directive issued by the Ministry of Construction Affairs and Urban Development and the Ministry of Defense provided that FOINFORM should prepare a computerized record of all shelters, storage cellars and cellars suitable for strengthening in the capital region, a record which could be developed into a national system."

Deputy minister Antal Jantner summed up the experiences of the technical demonstration. He expressed appreciation for the work of those who participated in preparing and executing it and wished them further success in the use of computer programming for civil defense purposes.

8984

CSO: 2500

DEMOCRATIC PARTY MEMBER INTERVIEWED ON RESPONSIBILITIES OF INTELLIGENTSIA

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 2 Feb 81 p 3

[Interview with Docent Dr Wieslaw Balcerak by Krzysztof Lewandowski: "Patriotism+Democracy+Progress: Harnessed to the Nation's Fate"]

[Text] Docent Dr Wieslaw Balcerak, director of the Institute of Socialist Countries, Polish Academy of Sciences, focuses his research work on modern international relations. His studies of Polish foreign policy during the Locarno period, of the rise of nation states following World War I, and, more recently--in collaboration with Marek Arczynski--of the drive to help Jews by Poles during World War II, have been popular among specialists and the general reading public. For 24 years now W. Balcerak has been active in the Democratic Party (SD), in the SD Congress Commission, and as chairman of the Team for Intelligentsia Affairs.

Question: How does the team chaired by you formulate in the course of its discussions the actual tasks of the Polish intelligentsia?

Answer: The Polish intelligentsia bears a special responsibility for the protection, consolidation, and reaffirmation of standards for the life of the nation. It is the patriotic duty of the Polish intelligentsia to continue the process of renewal in all of its aspects--political, ideological-moral, and economic--as well as to assure the functioning of mechanisms safeguarding against deformations and deviations from the principles of democracy and socialist humanism.

Given the present continuing elaboration of the socialist state and of the democratic principles of its functioning, the role of the intelligentsia as a creative factor becomes particularly important.

The Democratic Party is aware of the need to fully exploit the intellectual, moral, and experimental potential of the intelligentsia and hence it is particularly active in, among other things, attempting to provide the intelligentsia with the ability to exert greater influence on shaping the nation's fate and developing concepts and ways of implementing the Polish road toward

socialism. This will constitute a guarantee for the consistent translation into reality of the social contract and of the ongoing transformations in this country.

Question: We know that until recently the SD has been neglecting the intelligentsia even though it itself originated among the intelligentsia....

Answer: You are definitely right. The intelligentsia was, is, and will remain the natural membership base of the SD. The historical traditions of the SD and their continuity in transmission of values and ideas point to the important role of the SD as an organizer, political inspirer, and representative of interests of the intelligentsia.

During certain periods of its existence, when it was not completely able to reflect the political thought of individual socio-occupational groups of the intelligentsia, the SD deviated from an explicit identification of its membership base, from the foundations of its political existence--from its intelligentsia origin. This in effect resulted in reducing the political role of the SD and, after a fashion, in a loss of credibility and ideological worth of the declared party platform, as well as in an unjustified constriction of the membership base.

Question: So the platform of the SD, which you and your team are working on, will deal with regaining lost positions and occupying new ones corresponding to the national needs that have been brought to light?

Answer: Yes. A constant presence of the SD in the socially most important milieus of the intelligentsia such as science, higher education and technology, culture, health service, administration of justice, and the civil service, is indispensable. Such a presence leads to the recognition of the positions due to the intelligentsia within the SD. The platform of the SD states the fact that the SD represents the interests and reflects the position of all milieus of the intelligentsia as the fundamental part of its membership base.

In this connection, the SD imposes on all levels within the party hierarchy the task of markedly intensifying political work with the intelligentsia, broadening the forms of political influence on all milieus of the intelligentsia, and properly representing the interests of the intelligentsia.

Question: Would it be justified to state that the marked intensification of the interest of the SD in the intelligentsia is a natural consequence of the ongoing renewal of political life in our country?

Answer: Of course. If the SD is paying more attention to the problems of the intelligentsia, this is a consequence of the renewal processes and of the emphasis on the access of the SD to collaboration as a partner with all political and social forces. The SD wishes to assure the place due to the Polish intelligentsia in these processes. In its turn, the creative intellectual contribution of the intelligentsia to the SD program and to its realization will strengthen the position of the SD as a permanent link in the system of parties in the Polish People's Republic. It will also contribute to overcoming the

current political and economic crisis. Thus, there is a need for a political investment in the intelligentsia, for the creation of organizational forms assuring an optimal exploitation of its broad potential, knowledge, and resourcefulness, and for raising its social prestige and bettering its material situation.

Question: The practical concern of a political party with the intelligentsia will contribute to mobilizing the intelligentsia still further for public service and increasing its contribution to the solution of important problems of national welfare....

Answer: We would like it to be so. The SD supports the complete democratization and self-governing nature of the organizations and professional associations of the intelligentsia. In supporting the model of the functioning of autonomous organizations of various groups of the intelligentsia the SD declares its active support and readiness to offer real assistance for their creative activity.

The SD will be active in the plane of representative organs and state administration with the object of solving the problems of all groups of the intelligentsia in accordance with the needs of the entire nation and of the particular groups of the intelligentsia. The intellectual- and ideological-moral potential of the intelligentsia and the values it contributes to socio-political life, as well as the culture-creating functions it exercises, account for its role and importance in our country, and make it a major factor in the process of renewal, as well as a tangible force in overcoming the existing difficulties and struggling against deviations from the principles of socialism, morality, and justice. As the role and importance of the intelligentsia increase, its responsibility for the future of the country and the nation will increase.

The SD recognizes the intelligentsia as the main part of its membership base and poses at all levels within its party hierarchy the task of intensifying political work with the intelligentsia and improving the representation of the interests and increasingly clear needs of the intelligentsia.

1386

CSO: 2600

## WALBRZYCH VOIVODSHIP CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM DESCRIBED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 12 Dec 80 pp 16-18

[Article by Col (Academy Graduate) Mieczyslaw Fella, Chief of the Provincial Civil Defense Inspectorate (WIOC) in Walbrzych: "Civil Defense--A Brief Report on Civil Defense Accomplishments by the Walbrzych Voivodship in the years 1976-1980"]

[Text] Together with Gorzow, Jelenia Gora, Legnica, Leszczyn and Zielona Gola, Walbrzych Voivodship is part of the southwestern macroregion. It is divided into 44 administrative units: 14 cities, 17 city-parishes and 13 parishes. It has an area of 4,167.3 km<sup>2</sup>, about 710,000 residents, a population density of 170.3 per km<sup>2</sup> as compared to a macroregional average of 98, and a national average of 108 persons per km<sup>2</sup>.

The voivodship is in 2nd place (after Wroclaw Voivodship) from the standpoint of population, and 13th nationally. The voivodship has more females than males. Walbrzych Voivodship is among the most urbanized voivodships in the country (it is in 5th place--about 504,000 persons live in 31 cities, or about 71 percent of the total). The populace earns its living primarily in nonagricultural occupations with 54.8 percent of the inhabitants employed in industry, 5 percent in construction, and 7.5 percent in transportation and communication. Farming is the primary source of income for barely 5.4 percent of the inhabitants. The socialized economy employs 285,000 persons, which constitutes 18.7 percent of those employed in the macroregion.

Walbrzych Voivodship is rich in various minerals, primarily hard coal (in the Walbrzych and Nowa Ruda area), refractory raw materials in the Strzegom basin of the Nowa Ruda and Zabkowice Slaskie area, cadmium in the Swidnica-Zarow area, nickel ore in Szklary, and barium deposits in Boguszow Gorce. Among the more important raw materials extracted in the voivodship are porphyrs, melaphyrs and basalts. The deposits of these are among the richest in Poland. Almost all branches of industry are represented in the voivodship. The dominant industries are fuel-energetics, electromachine, mining and glazier-ceramic. Almost 85 percent of the total number of workers employed in industry is concentrated in those four branches and account for more than 75 percent of the voivodship's total production.



The mining of hard coal is dominant in Walbrzych. The Lower Silesia Coal Industry Association and its headquarters in Walbrzych is comprised of the following mines: Walbrzych, Victoria, Thorez and Nowa Ruda. Walbrzych coal is brittle, hence the entire output is processed in on-the-spot coking ovens. Sudeten kaolin clays are the basis of porcelain production in the Krzysztof and Walbrzych table china industry plants.

The Lower Silesia Chemical Plants produce sulphuric acid. The Walbrzych Glass Works produces reinforced and ornamental glass. Rope and net factories, tile factories and linen industry plants are also located here.

Despite its high urbanization, Walbrzych Voivodship has a well-developed agriculture and agricultural-food industry. The socialized sector occupies 32.5 percent of the agricultural land and grows from year to year. Local agriculture is mechanized to a large degree. Wheat, sugar beets and fodder crops are grown here with good results.

Cattle and sheep inventories are greater here than the national average. The Sudeten Agriculture-Industry Association plays a leading role in increasing agricultural production.

In addition to industry and agriculture, Walbrzych Voivodship has a fully developed Workers Vacation Fund (FWP) base, mountain tourism and health resorts with accommodations available for 32,000 visitors. The open (generally accessible) facilities number 11,700 sites, of which 7,000 are in permanent facilities. The voivodship has 69 movie houses, 2 theaters, 286 schools, 3 polytechnic branches, 4 consultative centers of other colleges as well as a philharmonic orchestra.

The impending 30th anniversary of civil defense in the Polish People's Republic prompts us to reflect and to summarize the entirety of civil defense activity. All the more so because consistent with party and government instructions, civil defense is taking on ever greater significance in Poland as the most effective, comprehensive and universal assurance of protection for the public, work establishments and cultural values against all possible types of threat.

The new system of administrative structures introduced during the third reform stage, that is, the conversion to the dominance of the voivodship-parish local system, also altered authorities with respect to the administration of civil defense matters. These authorities underwent decentralization, particularly in the regional system, as a result of which they caused a merger of assignments performed by administrative managers with the assignments of civil defense directors.

A local administration is associated very closely with the public and works with and for the public's needs. That is why the new solutions adopted, the precise demarcations of authority, assignments and responsibilities of government administrative organs in the area play an important role in the achievement of defense preparations.

Immediately after the reforms became effective, in executing his economic assignments, the governor of Walbrzych proceeded to organize a voivodship

department, which assured for him the direct supervision over the organization of all state, social and cooperative units in the voivodship hierarchy. In his organizational rules and regulations, based on the order issued by the Council of Ministers on 30 May 1975 relative to the organizational principles of local government administrative offices, and instructions dated 6 December 1975 issued by the minister of regional economic administration and environmental protection relative to the activities of offices which are part of a voivodship department, the governor specified the number of departments, the scope of their activities, and the authorities delegated to department heads for handling problems and making administrative decisions.

Based on these instructions, a Voivodship Civil Defense Inspectorate (WIOC) was created. WIOC's internal organization and the scope of employee activities was developed on the basis of instructions issued by the National Civil Defense Inspectorate (IOCK). In 1976, we were especially eager to publicize and popularize civil defense activity among voivodship residents. Among the best accomplishments of civil defense in 1976 are:

- development of WIOC's organizational structure and detailed descriptions of individual worker responsibilities;
- completion, by the end of the year, of almost 90 percent of the training plan for voivodship civil defense staff (including in this coordinated and comprehensive exercises);
- substantial progress in operational planning, especially the collection and preparation of data indispensable for the preparation of civil defense plans at all administrative levels of management (the voivodship's civil defense plan as well as the plans of first level civil defense administrative units were developed by August);
- the resolution of technical and supply problems;
- the stabilization and integration of all civil defense executive organs in the achievement of goals and civil defense assignments;
- raising organizational efficiency in preparing forces and resources for rescue operations and combating natural disasters, liquidating the results of accidents and catastrophes, evacuating the public from areas threatened by flood or industrial contamination, as well as the efforts pertaining to the protection of man's natural environment;
- assuring the WIOC and Local Civil Defense Inspectorate (MIOC) of an almost full personnel staff as well as better working conditions.

The reform of local administration also brought specific changes in the hitherto existing system of accomplishing civil defense training tasks. Despite the fact that, basically, training and rescue readiness activity was satisfactory in most civil defense detachments which the voivodship inherited from former administrative

districts, it was established that a certain number of them had not put their specialized training and coordinating exercises into practice.

The greatest changes occurred in training and improving civil defense cadres, in conducting supervision over training, and in planning and financing the training process. We were given a great deal of assistance by the former Civil Defense Training Center in Wroclaw which was converted into a intervoivodship center.

The training of management and rescue leadership cadres was accomplished partly in the localities in which they were formed, in rural parishes and in work establishments and partly in nonstaff municipal and ministerial training centers. A number of problems emerged in the course of that work which we had to resolve and for which we availed ourselves of our experiences. WIOC's role and tasks with respect to coordinating and supervising the accomplishment of training tasks at the voivodship level and in first-line units also grew in the new organizational structure.

We conducted a review of the organizational condition of all the voivodship's forces and means. It disclosed that there is still need for their improvement. We conducted reorganizations of structures where that was essential.

We accomplished many tasks during 1977 and 1978, among others, the following:

- a group was established for taking care of a dispersed population, as well as a group on civilian defense problems;

- we established close cooperation with interested voivodships;

- we set up an organizational structure for alerting cities and parishes;

- radiotelephones were installed in all offices, creating a universal warning network which, when time is of the essence, is also used for transmitting administrative decisions from the voivodship office to local offices of national first-level administrative organs.

We have recently achieved substantial progress in organizing and improving cooperation between civil defense forces, social organizations, and military units, particularly with the Provincial Military Staff Headquarters (WSZW) and the Wroclaw Territorial Defense Regiment (POT) stationed in our voivodship. An example could be the annual mutual training exercises of WSZW, POT and civil defense forces. These exercises also provided an opportunity for obtaining experience in conducting rescue actions by civil defense forces and the military.

An important voivodship accomplishment was the intervoivodship exercise "Sudety - 78" in which delegations from certain brotherly socialist countries participated. It demonstrated the high readiness level of civil defense in the Walbrzych Voivodship.

We paid particular attention in 1979 to engaging a cadre of civil defense instructors in various specialties, and civil defense activists and workers for



schooling the public in civil defense. Based on an analysis of the training of plant crews and of people not employed in socialized work establishments, we undertook the training, for the first time, of a portion of the public and plant crews, in the form of practical exercises in plants and first-line administrative units. The accomplishment of these civil defense tasks required work and effort by groups of people from various specialties.

In the near future we plan to:

--direct greater effort toward raising the readiness and action effectiveness level of civil defense units in combating natural calamities together with designated military units as well as with the unorganized public;

--concentrate on reorganization of civil defense forces to accord with a provision in the amended statute on the universal obligation for the defense of the Polish People's Republic;

--extend efforts involved with organizing the removal of the effects of pollution caused by toxic industrial agents;

--devote more attention to the protection of animals, agricultural crops, food products and water against pollution, as well as the preservation of cultural values;

--assure suitable conditions for the storage and proper maintenance of civil defense equipment (the establishment of a storage base for the voivodship was taken up in the overall development plan whose achievement we want to conclude by 1982).

The comprehensive inspection conducted by IOCK in late June 1980 evaluated our work positively, something that was of the greatest satisfaction to us. Just as hitherto, we will continue to develop versatile, multidirectional civil defense activity in our voivodship and be concerned about its high level and effectiveness.

10433

CSO: 2600

# WRITER ATTACKS RFE, OTHER CRITICS AT AGRICULTURAL MEETING

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 28 Feb 81 pp 1, 7

[Article by Ion Lancranjan: "Your Brothers or Sons"--speech delivered at the Congress of the Management Councils of the Socialist Agricultural Units, of the Peasantry, of the Councils of Workers in the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management]

[Excerpts] Permit me to present in this important assembly, composed, for the most part, of peasants, but composed, actually, only of peasants since all of us have been and are peasants, an idea to which I will return. Permit me to give a word of praise to the power of the land in the Romania of yesterday, today and tomorrow.

We must be careful not to destroy through modernization the things which are part of the tradition and specific nature of one place or another, what has been built up over hundreds of years, with much labor and suffering. Let us apply the law of the systematization of the villages but let us not transform this law into a weapon of destruction for what has been good and beautiful in one place or another and what has been justified from an economic point of view.

It is self evident that literature has many and great duties in this simple process of reevaluating the past and supporting the present. I would like to say, in the spirit of the discussions in this room, that the literature of today in socialist Romania has performed these missions with honor and with a spirit of responsibility. Many of the writers of today are your brothers or sons, being children of peasants and workers who would not have gotten to where they are today if a new order and a new life had not been established in Romania. Our literature has demonstrated by books and not by promises that socialist reality, today's realities in the country are the unceasing source of inspiration since they are the most important victory for us. The best writers have rendered invalid, by their uncontested deeds, the prophecies of the mercenaries of Radio Free Europe and others, showing men of good will here and abroad--because we write for men of good will not for scoundrels--that the creative powers of the Romanian people are inexhaustible. Of course, there are shortcomings and errors in the field of literature, more in literary life per se than in literature. I will not go into these matters in detail because I have referred to these matters on other occasions, during discussions in the community.

I will treat the problem from a general point of view, comparing the Writers Union to an agricultural production cooperative which is not doing very well, whose activity can and should undergo substantial improvements. However, all conditions exist for phenomena such as negligence and poor organization in agriculture and other fields to become true rarities and even oddities. One of these conditions results from the fact that at the head of the party and the country there is a peasant's son, a man of hope and of great moral beauty, a man who knew the hardships of life at an early age, becoming a young fighter and revolutionary, becoming a political leader like few that this country has had, known and renowned throughout the world, esteemed and loved by all of us, justifiably and deservedly, since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has always concerned himself with the welfare and future of the Romanian people.

CSO: 2700

## AMENDED LAW ON HOUSING, TENANT-LANDLORD RELATIONS PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 122, 31 Dec 81 pp 1-7

[Law No 5/1973 on the Administration of the Housing Supply and the Regulation of Relations Between Landlords and Tenants/

[Text/ The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.\*

Chapter I  
General Provisions

Article 1. The state housing supply is administered and let by specialized enterprises subordinate to the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils or by other state enterprises.

The state housing supply built from the own funds of state economic organizations and enterprises is administered and let by them.

The housing supply built from the own funds of cooperative organizations or other public organizations is administered and let by them.

Article 2. The dwelling space includes the habitable area and the dependencies.

By "habitable area" is meant the area of the rooms that, determined as such by their construction, serve for habitation, including halls and rooms for passage.

By "dependencies" are meant the rooms that serve the habitable area--namely: vestibule, anteroom, entrance hall, veranda, corridor, kitchen, kitchenette, office, pantry, lumber room, bathroom, lavatory, laundry room, drying room, cellar, basement stall, wall storeroom, loggia and covered terrace.

Article 3. An apartment includes one or more living rooms with the associated dependencies, located on the same level or on different levels, which together form an independent living unit, determined as such by its construction.

---

\* Republished on the basis of Article II of Law No 6 of 17 October 1980, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 90, 22 October 1980, with a new numbering being given to the articles.

Law No 5/1973 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 47, 31 March 1973.

In letting, it will be intended, as far as possible, that a single family will live in an apartment. In the case in which the apartment exceeds the needs of a family by at least a separate room, it can be let to many families in compliance with the legal provisions on the standardization of the housing supply.

By "separate room" is meant that room that does not serve as a passage for tenants, for entrance or exit or for using the dependencies.

Article 4. The floorspace with another purpose than that of habitation includes the floorspace necessary to perform economic, sociocultural, administrative or public activity and the associated dependencies.

The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will identify the spaces built for the purpose of housing that are now used for another purpose and will take steps so that within 1 year they are restored to the purpose for which they were built.

Article 5. The main tenant is the physical or juridical person holding the lease contract.

## Chapter II The Standardization of Dwellings in the State Housing Supply

Article 6. The housing standard for dwellings in the state housing supply is 10 square meters of habitable area for each person. In the case when small rooms result from construction, 8 square meters per person can also be allotted.

Article 7. The habitable area that exceeds the housing standard constitutes excess space.

The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils are obligated to ensure the letting of dwellings in the state housing supply in compliance with the legal provisions on the standardization of state dwelling space, in order to avoid the possession of excess space.

The excess space composed of one or more separate rooms can be let to other entitled persons. The letting is done with priority to persons entitled to extension, in accordance with the legal provisions, depending on the lowest incomes that there are per family member and on the number of children being supported.

Persons who possess dwellings in the state housing supply that exceed the housing needs for them and their families will be helped by the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils to obtain suitable dwellings, in compliance with the legal provisions on the standardization of the state housing supply.

In addition, the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will help to handle the requests of persons who possess dwellings in the state housing supply regarding the making of exchanges of dwellings in order to move the domicile closer to the workplace.

Persons who, by the nature of the activity that they perform, require additional space or, due to their state of health or physical condition, need such space have



the right to an extra room, with a corresponding increase in rent, in accordance with the provisions of the present law.

Article 8. The executive committees and bureaus of the municipal and city people's councils and those of the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest are obligated to ascertain quarterly the situation of the excess dwelling spaces and to inform semi-annually the citizens about the way in which the good management of the housing supply and the letting of dwelling space in strict compliance with the legal provisions are provided.

Article 9. The letting of dwelling space in the state housing supply in the administration of the units mentioned in Article 1 is done in the following order of priority:

To skilled workers, especially those in big industrial units;

To personnel transferred for the sake of duty from other localities;

To specialized personnel who work in material production, in the activity of design, scientific research and education;

To graduates assigned to production, coming from other localities;

To families with many children;

To those employed on the basis of a competitive examination, coming from other localities;

To other persons employed in labor and to pensioners.

Within the above categories, preference is given to persons who have difficult housing conditions, especially those with many children, as well as those with low incomes.

Citizens whose dwellings are demolished for new construction or systematization will receive for rent a dwelling in the state housing supply for them and their families, until they build or buy themselves a dwelling. The sum collected for the demolished dwelling will constitute the advance for the new dwelling that they build or buy.

Article 10. Dwellings will be let to worker personnel in state socialist units on the basis of the proposals of the work staffs in which they perform their activity, approved by the working people's councils and the trade-union bodies. The trade-union committees are obligated to report in the general assemblies of the trade-union members about the manner of handling, in strict compliance with the legal provisions, the working people's requests for dwellings.

The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, together with the collective leadership bodies of the enterprises and of the other units, will take steps so that the dwellings that will be let to their directors, chief engineers and other management personnel are located in the immediate vicinity of their workplace.

Article 11. In the case of dwellings built from investment funds centralized and listed by the plan, at the new, big facilities, the lease contract is accessory to the work contract.

Article 12. The area of yards and gardens associated with buildings will be let along with the dwelling space in exclusivity or, as the case may be, in common use, and entered in the lease contract.

Article 13. The letting of dwellings in big cities can be done only to persons or families who live or who have the right to establish their domicile, under the conditions of the law, in these cities.

The big cities, in the sense of the preceding paragraph, are established by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 14. A dwelling can be occupied only after the conclusion of the lease contract.

Article 15. A dwelling in the state housing supply is assigned to the use of the holder of the lease contract and the members of his family, who will be mentioned by name in the lease contract.

The spouses and the children, as well as the parents of the spouses, supported by them belong to the family, in the sense of the preceding paragraph.

### Chapter III The Letting of Dwellings in the State Housing Supply

Article 16. The lease contract for dwellings in the state housing supply is concluded in written form.

The lease contract for floorspace with the purpose of habitation in the state housing supply has the value of an authentic document and constitutes an executory title.

Article 17. The main tenant has the right to sublet a part of the floorspace of the dwelling, if it does not constitute excess space composed of one or more separate rooms.

The subletting is done as follows:

a) To persons designated by the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, if they have the domicile or the transient's visa in the respective locality or are entitled, according to law, to establish their domicile or residence in that locality;

b) To tourists--Romanian citizens--designated by the office of tourism.

The subletting is done only on the basis of a contract concluded in written form, which is registered at the respective financial board or office.

The sublease contracts are concluded, in the case of the persons in Letter a, between the main tenant and the subtenant and, in the case of the tourists mentioned in Letter b, between the main tenant and the office of tourism.

The sublease contracts will stipulate, mandatorily, the rates and periods of subletting. The rates for the subletting in Letter a are those provided in the present law, and those for the subletting in Letter b will be set by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers.

A sublease contract concluded in violation of the provisions of the preceding paragraphs is void according to law, and the sums collected on the basis of it become state income.

The violation of the provisions stipulated in the present article constitutes a contravention and is punished with a fine from 1,000 to 3,000 lei. The penalty is applied by the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes, on the basis of the investigatory reports drawn up by their representatives.

The provisions of Law No 32/1968 for the Establishment and Punishment of Contraventions are applicable to the contraventions mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Subletting without a written contract, for the obvious purpose of avoiding the application of the provisions of the present article, constitutes an infraction and is punished with imprisonment from 1 month to 1 year or with a fine.

Whenever the other acts mentioned in the present article are committed under such conditions that according to penal law they constitute infractions, they will be prosecuted, judged and punished in conformity with penal law.

Article 18. The subletting of the space allotted over the housing standard to the categories of persons established in conformity with the provisions of Article 7, Paragraph 6, is forbidden.

The violation of the provisions of the preceding paragraph entails the loss of the tenant's right to the space allotted over the housing standard, with the provisions of paragraphs 6-8 and 10 of Article 17 also being applicable.

Article 19. Persons who move permanently to another locality retain for at most 6 months after the date of the move their right of use over the dwelling that they possess, without being able to sublet it for the same period.

Article 20. In the case of persons transferred for official reasons to another locality, the space occupied by them and the family's members with whom they move becomes available on the obtaining of another dwelling in the respective locality.

Article 21. No person can be evicted from a legally possessed dwelling except in the cases and under the conditions provided by law.

Article 22. In the case of divorce, if the spouses have not agreed otherwise, the benefit of the contract regarding the dwelling is of use to the spouse in whose custody the children were put and, in the event that there are no children, the spouse who obtained the divorce.

In all other situations, the court that issues the divorce will decide which of the spouses will have the benefit of the contract regarding the dwelling.

Article 23. Persons who occupy without a lease contract a dwelling space in the housing supply in the administration of the state enterprises mentioned in Article 1, Paragraph 1, will be evicted, without the assignment of another dwelling space, on the basis of the decision of the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes.

The eviction is done by the enterprises that administer the state housing supply mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and in the case of resistance, the eviction is done together with the militia authorities.

Article 24. Main tenants and those who live together with them lose the right to use the dwelling space and will be evicted without the assignment of another dwelling space, in the following cases:

- a) If they cause significant damage to the dwelling, the building in which it is located, their installations and accessories, and any other property associated with them or if they take parts of them without permission;
- b. If by means of their behavior they make cohabitation impossible for other tenants in the same apartment or building or prevent normal use of the dwelling by other tenants;
- c) If the dwelling was obtained as a result of the commission of the infraction of key money or other infractions;
- d) If for a period of 3 months in succession they dishonestly do not pay the rent or the share of the expenses that devolve upon them in accordance with the legal provisions. If the sum owed is paid during the eviction proceedings, the court will be able to deny the request, requiring the accused to pay the legal expenses. However, the court will allow the request for eviction if previously there has been pronounced against the tenant a final decision by means of which he was obligated to the payment of the rent or to the share of the expenses that devolve upon him or to the payment of the legal expenses.

The eviction of tenants in the cases mentioned by the present article is ordered by the court.

Article 25. When state interests necessitate the use of state-owned buildings, the moving of the tenants in these buildings to other suitable dwellings is ordered by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 26. Main tenants have the right to make an exchange of dwellings between them, with the approval of the socialist units mentioned in Article 1.

#### Chapter IV The Setting and Payment of Rent

Article 27. The rent for a dwelling is set in accordance with: the basic rate, the degree of comfort of the dwelling, and the tenant's monthly basic wage or pension.



Article 28. The basic rate of the rent is uniform throughout the country, regardless of landlord.

The basic monthly rate is that provided in the following table:

The category of the areas	The basic rate depending on the basic wage or the pension of the tenant				
	up to 800 lei	801- 1,100 lei	1,101- 1,300 lei	1,301- 1,600 lei	Over 1,600 lei
For the habitable area (lei per square meter)	1.80	2.20	2.40	2.50	2.70
For the area of the dependencies (kitchen, kitchenette, bathroom, pantry, vestibule, anteroom, entrance hall, veranda, corridor, lumber room, office) (lei per square meter)	0.72	0.88	1.00	1.00	1.00
For the area of covered terraces, basement stalls and other dependencies in exclusive use (lei per square meter)	0.36	0.44	0.50	0.50	0.50

Article 29. The rate provided for worker personnel with over 1,600 lei in pay is applied for tenants who are not employed in labor or pensioners, except for those who receive social aid, to whom the basic rate provided for those with a wage or pension up to 800 lei is applied.

Members of artisan cooperatives are equivalent to persons employed with a work contract, with the basic wage of the category of employment being taken as a basis for calculation.

Article 30. Persons unfit for work due to old age or illness and lacking in means and students without other incomes than those resulting from a scholarship who live alone pay the rent calculated at the basic rate provided for the tenant's basic wage or pension up to 800 lei.

Article 31. The calculation of the rent for a dwelling occupied by a family in which there are many persons employed in labor or pensioners will be done on the basis of the highest monthly basic wage or pension.

Article 32. The basic rate is increased by 30 percent for dwellings with central heating or gas for stoves or is reduced, as the case may be, for the whole habitable area, as follows:

15 percent for rooms located in the basement or in attics directly under the roof;

10 percent for dwellings lacking in water, sewer and electricity installations or only one or some of them;

10 percent for dwellings built out of inferior construction materials like timber-work, adobe and wood.

The reductions are applied cumulatively.

Article 33. For the excess habitable area that exceeds the housing standard, there is applied to the basic rate a progressive increase of:



25 percent for the first 10 square meters;

50 percent for the next 10 square meters;

100 percent for the rest of the habitable area.

Article 34. To the rent calculated in accordance with articles 28-33 there are added 12 lei per month for a bathroom with a tub and 8 lei per month for a bathroom with only a shower.

Article 35. For persons employed with a work contract or pensioners with an average income per family member above 1,500 lei per month, the rent calculated in accordance with articles 28-33 is increased as follows:

By 50 percent for the case in which the wage or pension, respectively, that constituted the basis for calculating the rent is up to 1,800 lei;

By 75 percent for the case in which the wage or pension, respectively, is from 1,801 lei to 2,200 lei;

By 100 percent for the case in which the wage or pension, respectively, is above 2,200 lei.

Young people recently employed in production are excepted from the provisions of Paragraph 1 for a period of 5 years after employment; young married people who on the date of marriage have not passed the age of 28 years, for a period of 5 years after marriage; persons employed with a work contract transferred for official reasons, for a period of 5 years after the date of transfer; and officers, noncommissioned officers and military masters within the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 36. The rent for the sublet area is equal to the rent associated with the sublet habitable area and of the dependencies to which the subtenant has access, with an increase of up to 15 percent. In the case in which this space is furnished, the increase can be up to 150 percent, in relation to comfort.

Article 37. The rent owed by a person employed in a state organization, a cooperative organization or another public organization for a dwelling possessed in state-owned buildings will be withheld by that organization on the pay record from the monthly wage due him, regardless of any other withholding, even if by means of this the limits provided by Article 409 of the Code of Civil Procedure are exceeded. The method of withholding is stipulated in the lease contract.

Tenants, other than those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, will pay the rent under the conditions provided in the lease contract.

#### Chapter V

The Standardization, Allocation and Setting of the Rent for the Housing Supply With Another Purpose Than That of Habitation

Article 38. The floorspace with another purpose than that of habitation, in the direct administration or, as the case may be, in the ownership of socialist

organizations, of other juridical persons and of physical persons, used as offices is subject to standardization.

An average area that will not exceed 5 square meters, calculated for the whole unit, will be used for each person employed in office work, except for those who work at a drawing board and other categories of personnel designated by the Council of Ministers, for whom the average area will not exceed 6 square meters for each person.

The floorspace used as offices that exceeds the area resulting from the application of the provisions mentioned in the preceding paragraph constitutes excess floorspace.

The positions in socialist units for which a separate room (office) can be provided and the space limits will be established by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 39. The allocation of floorspace with another purpose than that of habitation is done by:

The Council of Ministers, for state and cooperative central bodies and those of other public organizations;

The central bodies of the state administration, for floorspace in the direct administration of organizations subordinate to these bodies;

The local bodies of the state administration, for floorspace in the direct administration of organizations subordinate to these bodies, in the ownership of other juridical persons and of physical persons.

For not complying with the provisions on the standardization of floorspace with another purpose, the heads of socialist units will be punished disciplinarily or with a fine between 1,000-1,500 lei.

Article 40. Garages owned by socialist units are allocated by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes, with priority being given to juridical or physical persons that have headquarters or reside in the building or in the vicinity of the building in which the garage is located. When there are many applicants, one of which is a socialist organization, the allocation is made to it. Garages can be allocated for common use when their capacity and the conditions of access permit it.

Juridical and physical persons that possess for rent state-owned garages can make an exchange of garages, taking each other's place in rights and obligations, with the provisions on the exchange of dwellings being applied accordingly.

Article 41. The basic rate of the monthly rent for floorspace with another purpose than that of habitation is uniform throughout the country, regardless of landlord.

Article 42. The basic rate of the monthly rent for floorspace used for offices is:

a) For socialist organizations, 3.50 lei per square meter;

b) For juridical persons, other than socialist organizations, and for physical persons, 5 lei per square meter.

A rent increased by 100 percent over the basic rate is paid for excess floorspace used as offices.

Article 43. The basic rate of the monthly rent for floorspace used for other purposes than for offices is:

a) For floorspace used for sociocultural activities and for the quartering of specialists, 2.50 lei per square meter;

b) For floorspace used for shops by authorized artisans and plastic artists, 3 lei per square meter;

c) For floorspace used for commercial, industrial and service activities in the municipality of Bucharest, 8 lei per square meter and, for warehouses, 7 lei per square meter.

In other municipalities, for floorspace used for commercial, industrial and service activities, the basic rate is 6 lei per square meter and, for warehouses, it is 5 lei per square meter.

In cities, for floorspace used for commercial, industrial and service activities, the basic rate is 5 lei per square meter and, for warehouses, it is 4 lei per square meter.

In rural localities, the basic rate provided for floorspace with another purpose located in cities is reduced by 30 percent;

d) For the floorspace of garages used by socialist organizations, by other juridical persons and by physical persons, 3 lei per square meter.

The payment of the rent for garages let to worker personnel is done under the conditions provided by Article 37.

Article 44. The basic rate of the monthly rent mentioned in articles 42 and 43 is increased by 30 percent for floorspace equipped with central heating or gas for stoves or is reduced, as the case may be, for the whole habitable area, as follows:

10 percent for buildings lacking in water, sewer and electricity installations or only one or some of them;

15 percent for floorspace used for offices located in the basement or in attics directly under the roof that were not meant for this purpose by means of construction;

50 percent for floorspace used by cooperatives for invalids.

The reductions are applied cumulatively.

The rates for baths and showers existing in spaces with another purpose than that of habitation are those provided in Article 34.

Article 45. For yards and gardens associated with floorspace, regardless of purpose, the annual rate of the rent is 1 leu per square meter.

Article 46. The lease contract for floorspace with another purpose than that of habitation is concluded in written form, on the basis of the allocation order, in conformity with the provisions of the present law.

Litigation in connection with the allocation, possession or use of floorspace with another purpose than that of habitation will be handled by the arbitration bodies, when all the parties are socialist organizations.

#### Chapter VI

#### The Obligations of the State Organizations That Let and of the Tenants in Connection With the Maintenance, Repair and Use of the State Housing Supply With the Purpose of Habitation

Article 47. State organizations that let floorspace with the purpose of habitation are obligated to: repair and maintain all the elements of constructions and installations within the building and its annexes, the elements of installations associated with the building and its annexes and the elements of installations associated with the building--elevator, water-supply plant, installation for central heating and for preparation of hot water, thermal points, and incinerators--and to make changes in burning installations as a result of a change in fuel.

The floorspace let is turned over to the tenant in a normal condition for use.

Article 48. Tenants are obligated to pay the rent and to maintain and repair the elements of constructions and installations within the dwelling and the parts of the building and its annexes in common use.

Tenants are obligated to repair and replace the elements of constructions and installations deteriorated as a result of the improper use of them, regardless of whether they are within or outside the building.

Article 49. Tenants are obligated to regularly pay the shares that devolve upon them from the expenses for maintaining and repairing the building's parts and installations in common use, and on the cessation of the lease contract they are obligated to turn over the dwelling space in a condition for use, with the condition in which it was let being taken into account.

In the case of the failure of the tenant to fulfill the obligations that he has with regard to maintaining and repairing a state-owned dwelling, the necessary work will be done by the unit or organization that lets it, with the equivalent value of this work being recovered from the tenants.

Tenants will pay completely, for all persons with whom they live, the expenses for water, sewerage, lighting and heating and other expenses that result from the use of the common parts and installations of the building.

Article 50. In state-owned dwellings, tenants are forbidden to make changes in spaces or other changes in construction.



Chapter VII  
Provisions on Dwellings Built From the Own Funds of the State Economic  
Organizations and Enterprises

Article 51. The dwelling spaces in state-owned buildings in the administration of state economic organizations and enterprises are let by their managements only to their personnel.

The contract for letting the dwelling space mentioned in the preceding paragraph is accessory to the work contract.

In the case in which the work contract ceases, the respective tenants are obligated to release the possessed dwelling within 3 months after the cessation of the work contract.

The personnel of state economic organizations and enterprises to whom dwellings have been let under the conditions of the first paragraph and who have worked in the respective enterprise for at least 10 years have the right to possess them even after pensioning.

In the case of the death of the person employed in labor or the pensioner, the eviction of the spouse or the other members of his family who live with him will not be able to be done except with the assignment of a suitable dwelling space.

Article 52. The dwelling space in the direct administration of the state economic organizations or enterprises can be the object of an exchange only between persons employed in the same unit and with the approval of their management.

Article 53. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will take steps with regard to identifying the housing spaces meant for official chambers or guesthouses and with regard to letting them in conformity with the provisions of the present law. The spaces of this kind in the precincts of the enterprises or in their vicinity will be let to the management personnel of the respective enterprises, in order for them to be able to take action promptly, in case of need.

In addition, they will take steps to set up in the city common spaces meant for the temporary quartering of persons employed in labor, which will operate on the principle of hotels.

Article 54. The provisions of the present law are also applied accordingly to dwellings built from funds of state economic organizations and enterprises.

Chapter VIII  
Provisions on Service Dwellings and on Worker Dormitories for Young People

Article 55. The dwelling space in the direct administration of a state socialist unit, located in the precincts of the unit or in the immediate vicinity of it or the workplace, meant for the quartering of persons employed in labor and their family members, in the case in which their permanent presence around the workplace is necessitated by the specific character of the work, is considered a service dwelling.

Article 56. The manner of and conditions for using the service dwellings and the land associated with them are the object of a lease contract, as an accessory to the



work contract. The present law's provisions on the standardization of dwelling space are also applied to service dwellings.

Persons employed in labor and their families who occupy service dwellings lose the right to use them along with the cessation of the work contract.

Article 57. Worker dormitories for young people are meant for the quartering of young workers and specialists who do not have other possibilities of quartering in the locality where they have their workplace. Worker dormitories for young people are administered by the socialist units.

Article 58. Tenants will pay a monthly rate for using the places in worker dormitories for young people.

The State Committee for Prices and the Ministry of Finance, together with the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, will establish the uniform methodology for calculating the rate, in such a way as to cover the expenses for maintaining and operating the common installations, the use of furniture and bedding, and all other expenses representing various services performed for tenants.

The rates varying according to categories of dormitories will be set by the Council of Ministers.

Article 59. The tasks of the administration of the dormitory, the rights and obligations of the tenants and of the personnel of the dormitory, the manner of utilization of the property in common use, and the measures for providing order and discipline in the dormitory are established by means of an internal operating regulation, approved by the working people's council in the enterprise that administers the respective dormitory.

#### Chapter IX Provisions on Personally Owned Dwellings

Article 60. A personally owned apartment that is inhabited by the owner and his family will be standardized and used as follows:

a) The owner and his family have the right to an area corresponding to their housing needs. In determining the housing needs, it is intended that to every member of the family there will be provided one room each and, besides them, at most two more rooms.

The owner can let a part of this area, including in the form of a furnished room.

b) Separate rooms that exceed the housing needs of the owner and his family--determined in accordance with the matters pointed out in Letter a--will be let by the owner, including in the form of furnished rooms.

In the case in which the owner does not let the rooms mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the executive committee or bureau of the people's council can let them to entitled persons.

The letting of the spaces mentioned in the present article is done only on the basis of a contract concluded in written form, registered at the financial board or office, with the stipulation, mandatorily, of the rates and periods, in conformity with the provisions of paragraphs 3, 5-8 and 10 of Article 17 and those of Article 36. These provisions are also applicable in the case of personally owned spaces that are sublet.

For all spaces let, the owner can receive only the rent calculated in accordance with the provisions of the present law.

The provisions of the present article are also applied in the case in which the owner is transferred for official reasons to another locality, and a part of his family with which he lived has remained in the apartment.

Article 61. A personally owned apartment that is not inhabited by the owner and his family is subject wholly to standardization and letting, under the conditions provided for the state housing supply.

Article 62. The provisions of articles 60 and 61 apply only to personally owned apartments located in urban areas.

Article 63. The present law's provisions on the obligations of state organizations that let and of tenants who possess state-owned dwelling spaces also apply accordingly to personally owned dwelling spaces.

Article 64. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will help, on request, the persons who have personally owned dwellings, but do not live in them, to move to these dwellings. To this end, they will let to the persons who possess the respective dwellings either the dwellings offered in an exchange of owners or other dwellings in the state housing supply, in compliance with the legal provisions on the standardization of dwelling spaces.

Tenants and their families who are to release the dwelling in accordance with the preceding paragraph, but have a contract for building or buying a dwelling under the conditions of the law for the development of housing construction and the sale of dwellings in the state supply to the population, and those who are to move to the personally owned dwelling possessed for rent by other persons will turn over the dwelling that they possess on their moving to the dwelling built or bought, respectively, or released by the tenants.

The dwelling space in the personally owned apartment that is released through moves or for other reasons will be put at the disposal of the owner and his family, at his request, without the right of extension being able to be exercised by other tenants.

#### Chapter X The Association of Tenants

Article 65. In buildings with many apartments, the main tenants--physical or juridical persons--constitute according to law an association of tenants, having as a purpose the good management of the building's parts and installations in common use, the matter of collecting on time the shares of the contribution to the payment of the common expenses and the promotion of a correct attitude regarding public

property and the observance of the norms of socialist cohabitation. Associations of tenants can also be constituted according to groups of buildings.

The association of tenants acquires a juridical personality on the date of registration at the financial board or financial office.

The association of tenants represents the interests of its members in relations with physical and juridical persons.

The association of tenants is represented before the bodies of the state by a representative designated by the general assembly of the association of tenants.

The decisions of the general assembly of the association of tenants by means of which the legal or statutory provisions are violated can be contested in the courts.

Article 66. The manner of organizing and operating the association of tenants and the manner of using the monetary and financial resources will be established by means of the statute\* of the association of tenants, approved by means of a decree of the State Council.

#### Chapter XI Common, Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 67. Any litigation in connection with the application of the provisions of the present law is handled by the courts, except for that put expressly in the jurisdiction of other bodies.

Article 68. The housing supply owned by cooperative organizations or other public organizations is subject to standardization.

With regard to the housing supply that they own, the cooperative organizations and other public organizations will apply accordingly the provisions of the present law.

Article 69. The operating personnel of buildings with many dwellings and the domestic personnel who possess dwelling space as an accessory to the work contract lose the right to use this space along with the cessation of the work contract, without another dwelling space being assigned to them.

The service rooms associated with the apartments can be let only with the agreement of the main tenant or the landlord, as the case may be.

Article 70. The requesting or receiving, directly or indirectly, of money or any other material gain--key money--in order to indicate the person to whom a dwelling space is to be let or in order to agree to the letting or exchange of a dwelling space, when the law conditions the letting or exchange with such an indication or agreement, constitutes an infraction and is punished with imprisonment from 6 months to 5 years.

---

\* The Statute on the Organization and Operation of the Association of Tenants was approved by means of State Council Decree No 387/1977, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 116, 16 November 1977.

The payment, directly or indirectly, of key money and the intermediation of such acts, for the purpose mentioned in the preceding paragraph, is punished with the same penalty.

The penalty is not applied to one who pays key money if he reports the act, on his own initiative, as soon as he had made the payment.

Article 71. The receiving of a rent higher than the legal one is punished with imprisonment from 1 month to 1 year or with a fine.

Article 72. The categories of persons who have the right to an extra room, with a corresponding increase in rent, and any other measures for carrying out the present law are established by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 73. Law No 10/1968 on the Administration of the Housing Supply and the Regulation of Relations Between Landlords and Tenants is repealed.

12105

CSO: 2700

## ROMANIAN HONORS CONFERRED ON SOVIET MILITARY MEN

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 117, 27 Dec 80 pp 1-3

[Presidential Decree No 219 on Awards of the Medal of Military Merit to Some Marshals, Generals, Admirals and Officers in the Armed Forces of the USSR]

[Text] For the contribution to strengthened friendship between the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Armed Forces of the USSR, on the 25th Anniversary of the Warsaw Pact the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Sole Article. The Medal of Military Merit First Class is hereby awarded to the following comrades:

Marshal of the Soviet Union Nikolay Vasil'yevich Ogarkov  
 Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov  
 Army General Aleksey Alekseyevich Yepishev  
 Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Leonidovich Sokolov  
 Army General Vladimir Fedorovich Tolubko  
 Army General Ivan Grigor'yevich Pavlovskiy  
 Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Ivanovich Koldunov  
 Chief Marshal of Aviation Pavel Stepanovich Kutakhov  
 Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union Sergey Georgiyevich Gorskoy  
 Marshal of the Soviet Union Kirill Semenovich Moskalenko  
 Army General Semen Konstantinovich Kurkotkin  
 Marshal of Signal Troops Nikolay Nikolayevich Alekseyev  
 Colonel General Engineer Nikolay Fedorovich Shestopalov  
 Colonel General Engineer Vitaliy Pikhaylovich Shabanov  
 Army General Aleksandr Terent'yevich Altunin  
 Army General Ivan Nikolayevich Shkadov  
 Army General Anatoliy Ivanovich Gribkov  
 Colonel General of Aviation Vladimir Nikitovich Abramov  
 Major General Engineer Yevgeniy Ivanovich Avtonomov  
 Colonel Medical Service Valentin Ivanovich Artamonov  
 Colonel General Sergey Andreyevich Bobilev  
 Colonel Viktor Tikhonovich Bulgakov  
 Colonel Engineer Spartak Yemelianovich Burtsev  
 Colonel Nikolay Nikolayevich Butorin  
 Army General Semen Petrovich Vanyagin  
 Colonel General of Aviation Vladimir Ivanovich Voronov



Colonel Engineer Igor' Sergeyevich Vykhodtsev  
 Colonel Grigoriy Grigoriyevich Gotsanskiy  
 Colonel Vladimir Georgiyevich Olagolevskiy  
 Colonel General Vladimir Andreyevich Goncharov  
 Colonel General of Artillery Leonid Mikhaylovich Goncharov  
 Colonel General of Aviation Sergey Dmitriyevich Gorelov  
 Colonel Viktor Grigoriyevich Gorlenko  
 Colonel Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Gorokhov  
 Colonel General Petr Andreyevich Gorchakov  
 Colonel General Vladimir Aleksandrovich Grekov  
 Colonel Vladimir Grigoriyevich Grishin  
 Captain 1st Rank Aleksandr Vikanorovich Danilin  
 Colonel Engineer Nikolay Aleksandrovich Dmitriyev  
 Colonel Engineer Yevgeniy Dmitriyevich Doroshenko  
 Lieutenant General Ivan Maksimovich Yermeyev  
 Colonel General Ivan Dmitriyevich Yershov  
 Colonel Nikolay Andreyevich Zhadobin  
 Lieutenant General Pavel Andreyevich Zhilin  
 Colonel General Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Zvartsev  
 Lieutenant General Igor' Vyacheslavovich Illarionov  
 Major General Vasilii Georgiyevich Kavkayev  
 Major General Engineer Gennadiy Nikolayevich Karev  
 Colonel Vasilii Mikhaylovich Katerinich  
 Colonel Anatoliy Semenovich Kozin  
 Captain 1st Rank Valentin Antonovich Kolinko  
 Lieutenant Colonel Andrey Stepanovich Korolevskiy  
 Major General Mikhayl Nikolayevich Kryakin  
 Lieutenant General Aleksey Vasil'yevich Kulakov  
 Lieutenant General Konstantin Yakovlevich Kurochkin  
 Major General of Aviation Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Kuchumov  
 Colonel Engineer Konstantin Fedorovich Levchuk  
 Colonel Engineer Vladimir Yefimovich Litvinenko  
 Colonel Georgiy Aleksandrovich Luzhin  
 Captain 1st Rank Timofey Sergeyevich Manayenkov  
 Major General of Justice Yuriy Antonovich Mityuk  
 Colonel General of Aviation Ivan Mikhaylovich Moroz  
 Major General Nikolay Ivanovich Pavlenko  
 Colonel Engineer Vasilii Nikitovich Pararonov  
 Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Ivanovich Pokryshkin  
 Colonel Engineer Boris Vasil'yevich Pchukhin  
 Colonel Engineer Felor Iosifovich Prozora  
 Marshal of Aviation Ivan Ivanovich Pstygo  
 Colonel Engineer Yevgeniy Pavlovich Rybakov  
 Colonel Grigoriy Gavrilovich Romanov  
 Colonel Anatoliy Maksimovich Savenkov  
 Colonel Yuriy Konstantinovich Sivalev  
 Major General Ivan Ivanovich Sidelnikov  
 Colonel Pavel Ivanovich Sidorov  
 Colonel General of Aviation Nikolay Mikhaylovich Skomorokhov  
 Colonel Engineer Vasilii Afanas'yevich Smeyanov  
 Admiral of the Fleet Nikolay Ivanovich Smirnov  
 Admiral Aleksey Ivanovich Sorokin  
 Lieutenant General Igor' Dmitriyevich Stopnikov

Captain 1st Rank Dimitriy Mikhaylovich Terent'yev  
Colonel Arkadiy Afanas'yevich Timorin  
Captain 2nd Rank Leonid Yakovlevich Titov  
Colonel Engineer Anatoliy Sergeyevich Tokarev  
Vice Admiral Engineer Svet Savvich Turunov  
Major General Petr Petrovich I'varov  
Colonel Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Udovichenko  
Colonel Aleksandr Georgiyevich Usanov  
Captain 1st Rank Aleksey Antonovich Filimonov  
Colonel General Engineer Vasil'yevich Filippov  
Colonel Intendance Service Anatoliy Semenovich Khryapin  
Lieutenant General of Aviation Nikolay Andreyevich Tsirbal  
General Major Nikolay Vasil'yevich Cherednichenko  
Colonel Mikhayl Grigoriyevich Shalayevskiy  
Major General Medical Service Yuliy Georgiyevich Shaposhnikov  
Lieutenant General of Aviation Vladimir Aleksandrovich Shatalov  
Colonel Intendance Service Nikolay Andreyevich Shevlyakov  
Captain 1st Rank Igor Nikolayevich Shirokov  
Colonel Engineer Boris Mikhaylovich Shmelev  
Colonel Engineer Yuriy Mikhaylovich Shirayev

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest  
No 219 of 1980

5186  
CSO: 2700

KOSOVO PAPER INTERVIEWS ALBANIAN WRITER KADARE

Prishtina RILINDJA (in Albanian) 31 Dec 80, 1-2 Jan 81 p 17

[Exclusive Interview with Albanian writer Ismail Kadare by Mehmet Kraja, RILINDJA editor: "The Literature Which Stays Outside Its Time is Not Understandable"]

[Text] Some time ago, the well-known writer Ismail Kadare visited Kosovo for a few days. On this occasion, he met with many artistic and cultural workers and with many readers. This was the first time that this writer was among a public that reads, values and appreciates his work.

On this occasion, Ismail Kadare gave the following exclusive interview to RILINDJA.

[Question] Comrade Ismail, we will begin this interview with poetry, because, it is in this genre that you first gained recognition for yourself as a writer. I have the impression that first you composed many themes and ideas into poetry; on the other hand, it seems that the relationship between prose and poetry in your work is more complex than it seems at first. I take the liberty of saying that in your work, it seems, that the clear-cut distinctions between these two genres are nullified. What do you think about this?

[Answer] What you say is true; I have treated many themes first in poetry and later in prose. I believe that this is a natural thing for a writer; at least, this is how it seems to me. There are many who portray their themes first in poetry, in short stories and in reportage; it is not important where; the important thing is that we portray them somewhere, because, everything requires a depiction of something seen somewhere, even [depicted] in a simple social conversation. For its qualities, poetry has been more preferable for me. I would say that for the Albanian writers, born and reared in a developed poetic climate, poetry is more suitable to take a vanguard role than other literary genres. I think that, in general, it is like this. The most reliable artistic structures are those which rely on poetry. Literature, which tries to exclude poetry, (unfortunately this often occurs nowadays, especially, in modern trends), or which tries to replace it with all kinds of doubtful mixtures, is questionable. I think that Thomas Mann's idea about the unity of the genres is correct.

Poetry is one of the natural faculties of man and its detachment from art is not only harmful, but, above all, also impossible.

We, Albanian writers, who have a poetic treasure, especially, an oral one, still not properly utilized, we are really privileged to be able to do research, however technical, first of all, within this treasure, without any necessity at all to run about in foreign and faraway laboratories which, unfortunately, are often sterile despite their sophisticated appearance. I want to add here that the first great laboratories of art, where the whole world has learned and continues to learn, were built precisely in the Balkan land in which we live.

[Question] A question about the poetry being created today in Albania. Sometimes, the following opinion has been expressed: here we have not so rapid a change of generations, that this poetry is still linked with the names that appeared in the 1960's. On the other hand, there is a generation of poets, born and recognized since then. (N. Gjetja, S. Mato, M. Zeko, XH. Spahiu and others). Can you express an opinion about the poetry of this creative generation and about the poetry which, in general, is being created in Albania today?

[Answer] I believe that poetic generations do not change as quickly as we think.

Moreover, the work of one generation is not simply a matter of age. The poets that you mentioned, together with a number of other young poets, are very good writers; they are fresh; and the fact, as you say, that we do not have such a rapid change [seen] in generations, and that these poets are linked to the poetry of the 1960's, as the latter was linked with the previous poetry. I call this a positive thing.

[Question] Let us pass to prose. Critics and readers have observed that history is present in your work not as a chronology of events, but as a synthesized experience. Through this work, how and to what extent does your work relate to the present day?

[Answer] I think that the literature which stands outside its time, even when dealing with history, that is with another period, would be incomprehensible. Art is the product of its time, regardless of the depth from which it draws its subject matter. It is the vision of your time which you are determining, be it even in the deepest abyss; it is its vantage point, world view and its illumination.

[Question] The relationship between the past and the present becomes clearer in the novel "The Fortress" and in the trilogy "The Bridge with Three Arches." Here and in the last novel "The Twilight of the Gods of the Steppe," the critics say, the third arch of the symbolic bridge of the national resistance is inserted. Do you think that this is one of the points where a pillar of history has been inserted?

[Answer] The third arch of a symbolic bridge? To tell you the truth, I have not thought about this. I could have described a bridge with five arches and the work and its meaning would have still been the same. I am of the opinion that

the symbolic interpretation of literary works is often a forced matter. Nowhere is our national resistance represented in three stages, periods, bridge arches or whatever. In this trilogy simply three periods of Albanian life are represented; as a matter of fact, to be more exact, there are four periods, if we count the interis period.

[Question] At times, literary critics have emphasized that your novels are written on Albania's relationship to the world and that here, a continuing conflict is created, a conflict that is repeated through time. Do you think that foreign readers will correctly understand this relationship?

[Answer] This is artistic material, not fabricated; I found it in the history of the country. It is not very important whether foreign readers correctly understand it or not. It is important that it is correctly portrayed. If this is done, then, there will always be people who will understand it.

[Question] In your works, you often repeat the events of the time. Do you think that greater distance is needed before a writer can give his artistic judgment on them?

[Answer] I think that this depends on the event. However, we must say here that it is not material time alone that constitutes distance.

[Question] In this connection, do you think that a writer should create distance in regard to politics?

[Answer] I believe that any so-called distance in regard to politics is nothing else but a kind of politics.

[Question] Your style of writing prose has often been mentioned. There were varied reactions from the beginning when "The General of the Dead Army" was published. What influence does critical thought have on perfecting your method?

[Answer] Of course, social thought plays an important role in the creative process. Those writers, who declare that they are indifferent to this thought either lack sincerity or are following an artistic path with insincere aims. In regard to criticism, I think that, first of all, it depends on whether it will be a part of this social thought or not. As such, it will also play its role.

[Question] With regard to the method, I have another question: the method of socialist realism has often brought stereotypes and triteness to literature. This does not occur in your work. What do you think about this?

[Answer] This is a question which, somehow, is always asked in interviews with the writers who use socialist realism. As such, it can really be called a stereotyped question. You must excuse me, I did not say this in any bad sense.

Have the writers of socialist realism created stereotypes and triteness? I will answer simply: yes, they have. Of course, they have. We would be idealists if



we pretended that it were different. This has always occurred and this will always occur; every artistic method, every vital artistic method also creates its stereotypes along with its values. This is a natural thing.

What is not correct is when one speaks about clichés and triteness and attributing them to socialist realism alone. This is not so at all. Socialist realism is not yet one century old, while literary clichés and triteness are as old as the world. In comparison with socialist realism, bourgeois literature and its various schools have created dozens and hundreds of times more stereotypes and triteness. Moreover, I would say, that some stereotyped forms that continue to live in the literature of the writers of socialist realism are, unfortunately, borrowed from bourgeois literature.

To come back to clichés: are there not a few clichés and triteness in the romantic movement in Europe, in sentimentalism, and even in critical realism, the glory of bourgeois literature? Moreover, where does one get the right to represent socialist realism only by its poor writers? There have always been and there will always be writers with limited capacities, but literary methods have never been identified with them. A philosopher has said that the speed of a fleet is equal to the speed of the slowest vessel; but, in literature, it is not so--on the contrary. It must not be forgotten here that two of the greatest writers of our century, Mayakovski and Brecht, were produced by socialist realism.

[Question] In one essay about heroic songs you said that on many occasions in our national life these have kept our freedom-loving spirit high and that they have played a mobilizing role. Is it possible for the literature to have such a role today?

[Answer] Without any doubt. Not only can it have this role, but it must also have it.

[Question] In your conversation at RILINDJA, you evaluated Albanian literature, within the framework of the Balkans and Europe. Could you tell us something more about this. In your view, are our literary treasures underestimated?

[Answer] As I said in my meetings with "RILINDJA," I have a great respect for Albanian literature and, I believe, this is not the result of naive exaltation. I believe that those who underestimate this literature, and there are such people, either do not know it or are prompted by suspicious calculations. It is neither the place nor the opportunity here to summarize the values of this literature; however, I would like to mention some of its points, starting with the oral literary heritage which does not lack anything; on the contrary, I am convinced that it surpasses the oral literature of the major peoples of Europe, (one must not forget that here a part of this treasure, for example, the cycle of the Northern epoch poetry, is one step removed from the structure of the novel). To continue, I would say that writers, such as, Barleti and Bogdani, in regard to the poetry of the Middle Age were on the average level of European literature of the age; and the fact that they were published and circulated freely in Europe is a proof of their level. In regard to De Rada, whose novel "Milosao" was published in the same year as "Evgeniy Onegin" was published in Russia, I do not

believe that there was a poet in the Balkans at the time who was more complete than him; moreover, I would add that the European poets of his time would have envied him for his amazing freshness.

Also, jumping over to our century, such a Pleiad as Noli, Migheni and Poradeci, emerging within a 25-year period, is a rare group for any literature. And, we are still in the pre-Liberation period; after this period, comes the broad and complete development of the new Albanian literature, the achievements of which are incontestable.

To exaggerate the values of one's literature is, certainly, a worthless thing, even harmful; but, to close one's eyes in the face of its, is savagely unjust and cynical, I would say.

[Question] In the conversation which our writers have had with you, one has the impression that you are carefully monitoring what is being written in Kosovo today. How much of this is offered to the Albanian reader and what is the opinion about it?

[Answer] Albanian literature written in Kosovo has been made known and is being made known more and more in Albania. And here I do not mean to established circles of literary people and intellectuals alone, but also to the broad mass of readers, starting with the readers in the capital and other cities down to the most remote areas. Our readers await with particular interest, curiosity and warmth the work of Kosovo writers. Hundreds of thousands of copies of books by Kosovo authors are circulating in Albania. In the magazine "Les lettres Albanaises," which we publish in French for foreign readers, there are authors from Kosovo in almost every issue.

[Question] There is an Albanian Literature, regardless where it is created. In some cases, in some texts or in some theoretical and literary writing this fact is not reinforced; thus, it is not also present in the literature, created in Kosovo. There is no reference to it. Of course, you have your own opinion about it. What is your opinion?

[Answer] You said it well, [this is true] in some cases. The main thing is what I said above.

[Question] If you allow me, I would insist that you express a concrete thought about the prose, poetry and literary criticism that is written here [in Yugoslavia]...

[Answer] I follow-up with particular interest all your work: your prose, poetry and literary criticism and research. Not only do I like the work, but I also evaluate it and profit from its best part. Your creative satisfactions are, at the same time, our satisfactions.

As you are asking for a more concrete opinion, before I try to give you such an opinion, I want to tell you that, although, I follow the development of literature written in Kosovo, I still do not know it so well that I would not make an

involuntary mistake in its evaluation. I have the impression that in the past years, poetry and critical-analytical thought have developed more and more enthusiastically, abandoning some previous shortcomings and deficiencies, such as the unnecessary closing-up in shells, the narrow worlds and obscurity as a criterion and style. Also, prose is successfully overcoming a certain surface coloring, a certain ornamentation. I would describe this as an oriental and Islamic ornamentation which becomes a burden to the prose, especially, when it is accompanied by a sophisticated technology. It is true that the drama of our people is historically mixed with the Turko-Islamic world; however, while reflecting also this reality, we always remain the writers of another world, of another shore. Being liberated from this useless ornamentation, your prose is breathing with more and more vitality and freshness. I profit from this occasion to wish all the best to my comrade writers of Kosovo.

[Question] During your stay in Kosovo, you had contacts with literary writers, intellectuals and, later, with many readers. With what impression are you leaving the country?

[Answer] I am leaving with the most beautiful impressions. I am taking with me a very great richness, for which I thank you.

9150

CSO: 2100

CROATIAN VETERANS ORGAN CITES ABUSES REGARDING BENEFITS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Milan Jaksic: "Some People Went Off To Join the Partisans--Even After the War!"]

[Text] If people continue to issue irresponsible statements about the participation of others in the NOB [National Liberation Struggle], said one of the participants in the recent debate in a meeting of the Presidium of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] of Croatia--and if such testimony continues to be accepted uncritically, we will soon have more veterans than actually existed at the end of the war.

This was the comment made on the excessive and frequently unfounded applications for veterans' pensions or disability benefits.

This topic has been put on the agenda of the veterans' organization in our republic for several reasons. Some we might refer to succinctly as stabilization reasons, i.e., veterans of the war are in favor of more optimum behavior in society.

They proceed on the assertion that society has always been very concerned about war veterans. Participation in the NOB actually has no price which could be expressed in money. Our society has always given the maximum it was able to give for old-age and disability pensions of veterans of the NOR [National Liberation War], and so the war veterans, aware of the strain on budgetary appropriations, have very often taken a critical view of any mismanagement.

Password for Late Entrance

What sort of negative manifestations are we specifically talking about? What has happened is that false statements have been made about participation in the NOB and on that basis individuals have acquired certain rights even though during the war they didn't even smell gunpowder. However, the number of such applications increased particularly after 1976, when amendments were made in the law on Basic Rights of Veterans of the NOR Under Old-Age and Disability Insurance. It was felt that many war veterans, either because they were uninformed or for other reasons, had not acquired the rights to which they were entitled, and the amendments in that law offered them an opportunity to acquire them subsequently. What happened after that?

The statements of witnesses figure as the key evidence of participation in the NOB, but for many people they have served as a password for late entry into the partisans. The date of Italy's capitulation, 9 September 1943, is again becoming relevant. All of a sudden it has turned out that the greatest number of the applicants submitting subsequent petitions refer to days, months and years before Italy's capitulation, and this has become doubtful because there are so many.

#### Being "Informed" and Being Uninformed

It is nevertheless likely, even after this effort was made, that in out-of-the-way villages there do remain quite a few deserving people who do not have the right information about veterans' rights or who do not need to respond with a petition for subsequent recognition of their period of time as veterans, which could bring them a pension. Mostly these are elderly people whose houses were always a safe refuge for partisans during the war, people who took food from their own mouths for the partisans, people who led them through cracks in the enemy cordon, and who shared the good and the bad with the National Liberation Army.

The veterans' organization is now by and large clear in its position that not enough thought was given to all the repercussions of these legal amendments, the consequences particularly. That is, that at one time it was difficult to persuade individuals to apply for a veteran's pension and similar rights, and even informing them about their rights was not enough, today it seems that is the least problem.

#### Irresponsible Testimony

Since 1976 there have been in Croatia 24,333 petitions for subsequent recognition of veterans' rights in Croatia, 11,453 were granted, and 75 percent of them concerned participation in the NOB before 9 September 1943.

As we see, the figures are not really small. However, however difficult it may be to cast suspicion on them without evidence, this number of people 35 years after the end of the war does nevertheless cause doubt. Especially when we are familiar with that portion of the debate in the Presidium of SUBNOR of Croatia which referred to abuses or superficial work done by some of the veterans' institutions responsible for taking that testimony.

That is, it was emphasized in the debate that statements on participation in the NOR are sometimes made irresponsibly, and veterans' rights are even acquired by people who were in the ranks of the enemy during the war. Attention has even been called to cases in which individuals who were wounded by a partisan bullet in an enemy bunker received benefits as disabled veterans.

#### Superficial Committees

If we add to this the data on the work of the veterans' committees and commissions responsible for realization of the rights of veterans of the NOR, then one can understand why the veterans' organization is upset.

Some opstinas (or opstina committees and commissions), that is, ruled favorably on between 20 and 25 percent of the applications submitted during that period, while



some went even as high as 80 percent. Were the latter more zealous than the former, or were they more generous--that is a question we will not take up. By and large it turns out that just as one should not put much faith in statements made by certain individuals, so one should also be doubtful that these institutions have done their work responsibly. It follows that something should be done immediately in order to correct such anomalies.

#### Renewal of Proceedings

Proposals have been made as to what should be done at this point. There has been talk, say, that we should change the criteria, that individuals should be penalized publicly, and so on, all the way to demand for review of proceedings, at least that portion from 1976 to the present time.

This latter proposal is indeed the most logical, but it seems that it is difficult to carry out, since, it has been said, renewal of proceedings would cost society more than the total amount of all the old-age and disability pensions in question. In this case, then, it is difficult to straighten out the crooked Drina.

That is why the proposals of the Presidium of SUBNOR of Croatia are not definitive. Perhaps some new and better ones will soon emerge; perhaps the very next meeting will offer better solutions, but review should not be abandoned. That is, the status of a veteran of the NOR and the honor and dignity of those who fought for the country's freedom--are beyond price. Neither the veterans' organization nor society should allow individuals to cast even the smallest shadow on an exemplary organization. Indeed, a particular effort should be made to establish the responsibility of those who have given false testimony or those who have been so presumptuous as to seek what they are not entitled to.

7045

CSO: 2800

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

10 April 1980